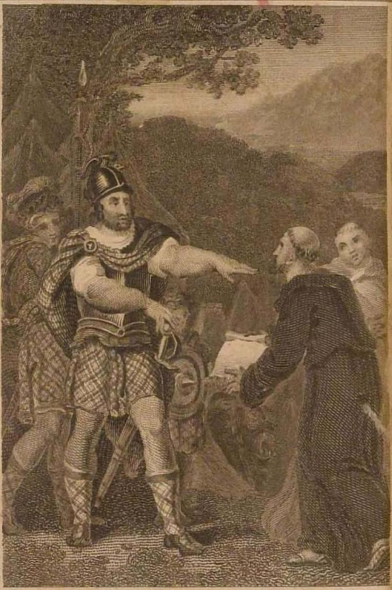

Burney Del. Reeve Sc.

——— Imagining that Wallace might be induced to lay down his arms, the English General dispatched two Friars to the Scottish Camp, with terms of capitulation. "Return" said WALLACE, and tell your masters that we came not here to treat, but to assert our rights, and set Scotland free. Let them advance they will find us prepared."

Published by R. Phillips, 71 St. Paul's Church-yard Jany. 1. 1804

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO THE

GENERAL PEACE OF 1802.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, CHAPLAIN TO

THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

. . . .

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. XXI.

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THE HISTORIES OF SCOTLAND, AND OF IRELAND.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AUTHOR OF THE BRITISH NEPOS, &C. &C.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 71, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD;

AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1803.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF BUCHAN,

LORD CARDROSS, &c. &c.

THIS VOLUME

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF RESPECT

AND ESTEEM,

INSCRIBED,

BY HIS

MOST FAITHFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

THE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

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IRELAND.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Description of the Country—Laws, Religion, and Character of the Scots.

THE northern division of Great Britain, antiently called Caledonia, now Scotland, lies between the 54th and 59th degree of north latitude, and the 1st and 7th of west longitude. The Tweed on the eastern coast, and the Solway Firth on the west, determine the limits between England and Scotland. The German ocean, with the Deucaledonian and the Irish seas, flow around its eastern, northern, and western coasts. The isles of Orkney and Shetland lie contiguous to its northern extremity, the Hebrides are adjacent to its north-west shores, and Man is seen from the south-west coast.

The climate of Scotland is such as might be expected in a latitude so remote, and a country so mountainous. In the eastern parts there is not so much humidity as in England, owing to the mountains on the west, which arrest the vapours from the Atlantic. The western countries, on the other hand, are deluged with rain, an additional obstacle to the progress of agriculture. Even the winter is more distinguishable by the abundance of snow, than by the intensity of frost; but in summer, the heat of the sun is reflected with great power in the narrow vales

between the mountains, so as sometimes to occasion a phenomenon of glittering particles that seem to swim before the eye.

The face of the country is in general mountainous, to the extent perhaps of two-thirds, whence the population is of necessity slender in comparison with the admeasurement. In the south-west, the antient province of Galloway presents an assemblage of hills, which seldom describe any uniform chain from the bay of Glenluce, which extends towards Loch Ryan, and thence in a N. E. direction to Loch Doon, the source of the river Doon, which joins the sea near Ayr. Other ridges run in various directions, generally north and south, according to the course of the rivers, till we arrive at the Nith, near which is Cruffel, a detached summit of considerable height. But the chief elevation of this part of Scotland is that metalliferous ridge in its very centre, called Lead-Hills, &c. whence many rivers descend in all directions to the sea. The chief summit of that ridge is Hartfell. Not far to the north is Tinto, a remarkable solitary mountain, and Queensberry Hill, about the same elevation. Berwick Law, and the romantic summits in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, close the list of the southern hills.

On passing the Forth, appears the range of Ochill hills. The Grampians may be considered as a grand frontier chain, extending from Loch Lomond to Stonehave, and forming the southern boundary of the Highlands, though four or five counties on the north-east of that chain, have in their eastern and northern parts the name and advantages of Lowlands.

The

The transition to the Grampians is gradual, consisting of the Sadley hills on the east, the Ochills in the middle, and Campsy hills on the west. To the Grampian chain belongs Ben Lomond, Ben Leddy, Benmore, Ben Lawres, (the chief summit 4015 feet above the level of the sea;) Shihallion, Ben Vorlich, and other less important elevations on the east; Mount Battock, in Kincardinshire, and Ben Cruachan in Argyleshire.

The highest mountain in Great Britain, is Ben Nevis, of 4350 feet in height, not above one quarter of that of Mount Blanc. This mountain has not hitherto been explored by any mineralogist. On the north-east, it presents a precipice nearly perpendicular, and of prodigious height; by some accounts 1500 feet.

The view from the summit is grand, exhibiting most of the western Highlands from the Paps of Jura to the hills of Cullen in Skye: on the east it extends to Ben Lawres, in Perthshire, and the river Ness, a view of about eighty miles in extent. The superior half of the mountain is almost destitute of vegetation. The summit is flat, with a gentle declivity. Snow remains in the crevices throughout the year, but here are no Glacieres or other magnificent Alpine features.

It would be difficult to divide the remaining mountains into distinct lines or groupes. Near Fort Augustus stands the long mountain of Coriarok, over which a military road has been carried in a zig-zag direction. About thirty miles to the east rises the mountain Cairngorm, or the Blue Mountain, clothed with almost perpetual snow; as is Benibourd: inferior hills are without

 number.

number. Even the eastern parts have little of uniform flatness, but are sweetly diversified with hill and dale.

The forests of Scotland are very rare, it is long since the Sylva Caledonia has vanished. The whole county of Selkirk was formerly denominated Ettric Forest. There was a considerable forest in the west of Aberdeenshire, that of Mar, where still remains the forest of Abernethy. In the county of Sutherland was the forest of Sletadale, and in the north of the same county Parf forest. The county of Argyle contains Boachiltive forest on the north. Mention is made by late travellers of a royal forest near Loch Ketterin, called Finglas, but for this there seems no authority. The forest of Athol, in the same county, does not appear liable to the same objection. Plantations are, however, very numerous throughout the country. The rich roughness of an English prospect, diversified with an abundance of wood, even in the hedge rows, is in Scotland rarely visible, whence the nudity of the country makes a strong impression on the stranger. But the laudable exertions of many of the nobility and gentry, who plant trees by millions, will soon remove this reproach. The maritime gales are noxious to such plantations; but experience and attention will devise some method of protecting the young plant.

The chief rivers in Scotland are, the Tay, the Clyde, and the Forth. The principal source of the Tay is the lake of the same name. Soon after this noble river issues from the lake, it is joined by several lesser streams; after passing Perth, where it is navigable, it flows by Dundee, below which

which it forms a grand estuary, or frith. The mouth of the Clyde below Glasgow, is equally advantageous to navigation. The falls of the Clyde near Lanerk, are objects well deserving the attention of the traveller. The Firth of Forth is a remarkable gulph formed by the mouth of that river, and dividing the Lowthians from Fifeshire. The Dee, the Don, the Spey, are the rivers most worthy of notice in the north.

Throughout Scotland there a great many beautiful lakes, but the chief in extent and magnificence is that of Loch Lomond, studded with romantic islands, and adorned with shores of the greatest diversity. The depth of this lake, near the bottom of Ben Lomond, is from 60 to 80 fathoms. Lock Levin, in Fifeshire, attracts observation from historical fame. Loch Tay is a grand and beautiful expanse of water; at its eastern extremity are placed the noble mansion and plantations of the earl of Braidalbin. Loch Ness rivals Loch Tay in extent and reputation; its great depth (135 fathoms) is the cause why it never freezes.

A bill has lately passed in parliament, for joining by a canal that chain of lakes, which runs from the Murray Firth in a S. W. direction into the western ocean.

The chief minerals of Scotland are lead, iron, and coal. The lead mines in the south of Lanarkshire, and the neighbouring county of Dumfries, have been long known. Iron is found in various parts; the Carron ore is found in slaty masses in an adjacent coal mine, of which it sometimes forms the roof. This ore is smelted with the red greasy iron ore from Ulverston in

Lancashire, which imparts easier fusion and superior value. Coal has been worked in Scotland for a succession of ages. Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. mentions that he beheld with wonder black stones given as alms to the poor of Scotland. The Lowthians and Fifeshire particularly abound with this useful mineral, which also extends into Ayrshire, and to the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

A.D. 1450.

In passing to the less important minerals, the new earth found at Strontian, in the district of Sunart and parish of Ardnamurchan, is now consecrated in numerous systems of mineralogy and chemistry. Ben Nevis affords beautiful granite; fine statuary marble is found in Assynt, and at Blair Gowrie, in Perthshire; a black marble, fretted with white, like lace-work, occurs near Fort William; dark brown with white, at Cambuslang Clydesdale; and jasper is found in various places.

Several beautiful species of marble have been lately found in the western isles, especially in those of Tirey and Col, near Mull: no similar marble being found any where, French naturalists have called it Tirite, from the name of the island. It is of a rose colour, penetrated with small irregular crystals of green hornblende.

One of the most surprising objects of curiosity is the vast basaltic cavern of the isle of Staffa, called now Fingal's Cave. The entrance of the cave is fifty-six feet in height, and thirty-five in breadth: the whole length or depth is one hundred and forty feet. It is supported on each side by beautiful columns disposed in the most exact order, and in form resembling the most

most regular pillars in architecture. The whole south-west of the island is likewise supported by ranges of those pillars above fifty feet high, and some above sixty feet thick, standing in natural colonnades.

The zoology of Scotland presents little remarkable as distinct from that of England. The small horses of Galloway seem to have been a primitive breed, and in diminutive size are exceeded by those of Shetland. The cattle in Galloway are often without horns; a defect which is supposed to be compensated by the superior quantity and quality of the milk. The Kylies are a middle-sized breed from the province of Kyle, and other districts of Ayrshire and Galloway. On the east are found large cattle and horses of various breeds.

The sheep are smaller and shorter than those of England; those of Shetland are remarkable for the fineness of the wool, which is however interspersed with coarser piles. Goats are not so numerous as might be expected: this animal yields useful leather and milk, and might occasionally supply the want of other provision. Of wild animals there remain none now but the fox and the wild cat. Only since 1680, the race of wolves has been exterminated.

The *aurochs*, whose bones and horns are yet found buried under many layers of earth, were the largest of the ancient Caledonian quadrupeds: although not nourished by carnage, yet the slightest provocation was at any time enough to exasperate them to rage, and their rage was death to almost every inhabitant of the forest. The stag and the roe, particularly the latter, is

no

no stranger to the Highlands. Among the birds, those worthy of notice are the eagle and falcon. The shores and islands present numerous kinds of sea-fowl. The musical tribe is not indeed very numerous. The sky-lark, the thrush, the blackbird, and Mevis, are not unknown; but the sweet notes of Philomel have never yet been heard in the North.

Scotland abounds with fish of all kinds, and contributes greatly to the supply of the English market, particularly in lobsters and salmon. On the northern and western coasts are numerous seals; and it appears, from the life of S. Columba, that the ancients had a method of rendering them tame and obedient to call. The whale sometimes appears, and the basking shark frequently plays in the western inlets. Pearls are found in the rivers Frith and Yethan, in a large kind of muscle. The herrings appear off Shetland in vast columns in the month of June, altering the very appearance of the ocean, which ripples like a current. These columns have been computed to extend five or six miles in length, by three or four in breadth, and in bright weather reflect a variety of splendid colours. They afterwards divide to the east and west of Great Britain, furnishing a providential supply of food to many barren districts.

Among the ancient monuments still to be discovered in Scotland, the most remarkable are the remains of the Roman wall, between the friths of Forth and Clyde.

The Roman camps and forts are still visible in many places. Druidical temples, or places of judgment,

judgment, are numerous. There is a remarkable one in the isle of Lewis, where perhaps monarchs resided, if this does not rather belong to the settlement of the Norwegians. The engraven obelisks found at Forres are of uncertain date and origin. Of ancient churches, there are some remains worthy of notice: the cathedral of Kirkwall, in Orkney, has entirely escaped the ravages of the reformation. Other churches and abbeys present still venerable ruins.

The general commerce of Scotland is in most respects similar to that of England, though on a smaller scale. The chief exports are cottons, muslins, linen, stockings, lead, iron, and coal; the fisheries furnish a considerable store of merchandize. The imports are timber, wines, brandy, rum, sugar, rice, and indigo.

The most remarkable inland navigation is the excellent and extensive canal from the Forth to the Clyde, precisely thirty-five miles in length, which saves a navigation of six hundred miles round by Pentland Frith; the dimensions of this canal are greatly superior to any work of the same kind in South Britain; its depth is seven feet, its breadth at the surface fifty-six feet, the locks seventy-five feet long, and their gates twenty feet wide; it is raised from the Carron by twenty locks, in a tract of ten miles, to the amazing height of one hundred and fifty-five feet above the medium of full sea-mark. In some places, the canal is carried through solid rock. There are in the whole eighteen draw-bridges, and fifteen aqueduct bridges, one over a river.

Agri-

Agriculture, in most places capable of improvement, has made rapid progress of late years. The Highlands are chiefly destined for pasture.

The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow would do honour to any country. In each there is an old and new town, which form a pleasing contrast.

There are other towns, where trade and industry are daily increasing: such as Aberdeen, Dundee, Montrose, &c.

The law of Scotland differs essentially from that of England, being founded in a great measure upon the civil law. It partly consists of statute law; but many of the ancient statutes never having been enforced, the chief rule of this sort arises from the decisions of the session, which are carefully preserved and published as precedents. The session, consisting of a president and fourteen senators, is the highest court of justice; they are all appointed for life by his Majesty. In civil matters there are no juries as in England; criminal causes are determined by the majority, not by the unanimity of the jury, as in England.

The progress of the regal power was much more slow in Scotland than in England, owing to the nature of the country, in many parts inaccessible, which enabled chieftains to establish and maintain an independent authority. The prince was rather a general than a king; his military command was extensive; his civil jurisdiction almost nothing; his revenues were scanty; he had no standing army. The king's demesnes or his crown lands furnished subsistence for his court.

The

The parliament, from the time of Macolm II. appears to have been composed of ecclesiastical aud lay barons, each of whom claimed a separate vote. After the creation of royal boroughs, the king was induced to require these corporations to send deputies for making a bargain with regard to the taxes demanded of them.

It is remarkable that the boroughs formed a peculiar court for promoting their common interest. A late author attributes this institution to court influence: it has more the appearance of a republican league, such as the Hanseatic, and that of other Imperial towns in Germany, for their mutual protection. The convention of the boroughs still exists: but seems to have little power or utility. In the more opulent towns, chambers of commerce have the preference.

There have been of late many discussions about the burgh reform. The evil complained of is, that the old magistrates elect the new, and they are not responsible to the burgh at large for the management of their funds. Members of parliament for the boroughs are elected by the council only.

The Scottish parliament always sat in one house. By this union, it was visible that the influence of the great nobility must always predominate. The lords of the articles prepared and digested bills in such a manner, that nothing more than the mere assent or dissent of the meeting should be wanting; and that thus, in a day or two at most, its deliberations might be ended.

Such persons were the usual ministers of the crown, and therefore favoured the prerogative.

The

The gentry, or small vassals of the crown, were commanded by James I. to attend in parliament, as he had observed (during his captivity) was done in England. As the poverty of that class of vassals was so great, they disobeyed the order. By another statute, James excused them from personal attendance, but required them to send representatives: but it was a full century afterwards before this measure was made effectual.

In the famous manifesto drawn up by parliament in 1320, and addressed to the pope, they plainly intimate, that Robert Bruce had been advanced by their authority, and that if ever they should abandon their cause, they would expel him and chuse another.

When Robert Bruce ventured in parliament a little inconsiderately to question some of the nobility by what title they held their estates, they drew their swords: "By these," said they, "we have acquired them, and we will maintain them."

The Scots Parliament assumes a dictatorial tone: no petitions to the sovereign but rules. Thus in a statute made in the reign of James I. it is said,

"The parliament has determined and ordained that our lord the king shall *gar* (cause to) mend his money." The Scottish house of parliament had the uncontrouled power of legislation. It imposed taxes, and regulated the application of them; it determined peace or war, regulated forces, appointed governors, &c.; it put an end to its own meetings, appointed others to be held at particular times and places; it even interfered

in

in the domestic concerns, and in the marriage of the sovereign.

Since the revolution of 1688, the ecclesiastical government of Scotland is of the presbyterian form, an establishment long opposed by its monarchs as unfavorable to the royal influence. Experience has shewn that the prejudice was unfounded; but violent commotions happened before the presbyterian system triumphed. To the general assembly laymen also are admitted under the name of *Ruling Elders*, and constitute about one third of this venerable body. All clerical matters are discussed in this court, which admits of no appeal but to the British parliament. In general, the present clergy deserve the greatest praise, as men of enlightened minds and moderate conduct. Dissenters, however, are very numerous. The seceders, who separated from the church in 1732, were themselves divided soon after into two bodies, the burghers and antiburghers. The methodists have a great many followers, the quakers and unitarians but few. Among the higher orders, the church of England and the episcopal church of Scotland is the prevailing religion. There are but few Roman catholics, and these chiefly in the north, and in the remote Highlands.

The Scottish language in the Lowlands is the Anglo-Saxon, blended with the ancient Scandinavian. In the Highlands it is the Gaelic or Erse, a dialect of the Celtic. English, however, is understood every where, and even spoken by all people of education. A distinction of dress still prevails in the dialects, which, after the last attempt of the Stuart race, (1745), was prohibited

by the British parliament. But this act has very prudently never been put in force.

The national characters bestowed upon the inhabitants of different countries, must be received with large allowances for exaggeration and prejudice.

The shrewdness, cunning, and selfishness imputed to the people of Scotland, are merely the unfavorable aspect of that sagacity which enables them to discover their own interest, to extricate themselves from difficulty, and to act upon every occurrence with decision and prudence.

The national spirit of Scotchmen has been much taken notice of, insomuch, that they are supposed to be all in a confederacy to commend and extol one another. We may remark, that as candidates for fame, or for profit in the London market, they are greatly the minority, and it is not surprising, that in such a situation they should feel a common bond of union, like that of strangers in a hostile country.

The deficiency of Scottish authors in every department connected with wit and humor, has been universally admitted. This may have proceeded from the difficulty they meet with in attaining such a command of the English language as must be requisite for the forcible and humorous delineation of ordinary life and manners *.

As the common people were extremely dependent upon the higher classes, they became

* A noted literary character has waggishly observed, in speaking of the learning of Scotland, "that every one has a mouthful, but nobody a bellyful."

cautious

cautious of giving offence, and desirous of recommending themselves by an obliging deportment, by an obsequious attention, and by a studied expression of zeal and affection. The habits produced by such a situation are doubtless not very favorable to plain dealing and sincerity, however much they may fit the possessor for the intercourse of the world, and render him expert in smoothing the frowns, or improving the smiles of fortune.

A strong predilection for the learned professions is very prevalent in Scotland, and men of an active disposition are readily induced to migrate to foreign countries for the purpose of advancing their fortune.

Intelligence, sagacity, and disposition to learning descends to the common people in Scotland. Since the reign of James VI. public schools are established in every parish to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, and even Latin and Greek, and several branches of mathematics. The Scottish nation in general received an intellectual stimulus at the reformation, which produced energy and activity, not only in examining religious opinions, but in the general investigation of truth.

Of all the common trades in the hands of the vulgar, that of gardening approaches the nearest to a liberal profession. A gardener easily becomes a botanist, and if he knows any thing of the medical virtues of plants, he is exalted by the credulity of his neighbours into a species of physician. In Scotland every gardener learns to draw blood, and thus becomes a surgeon. These advantages have produced a predilection for this

 employ-

employment, and Scotland now has the merit of furnishing a large proportion of the gardens over Great Britain.

The population, according to the statistical account, appears to be about one million and a half, which amounts to no more than fifty-seven inhabitants to each square mile; its superficial contents being computed at 27,793 square miles, a proportion of about one third to that of Ireland. This defect of population arises partly from the continual emigrations to America, and partly from the mountainous nature of the country, amounting perhaps, to one half not susceptible of cultivation.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

From the most ancient Records to the Union of the Scots and Picts.

THE origin of the first inhabitants of Scotland is uncertain. Britain lying contiguous at three points, to Gaul, to Ireland, and to Scandinavia, may have received inhabitants from these three different countries. From Gaul it has been confessedly supplied with the greater part of its first occupants. Colonists have mutually migrated from the Scottish and the Irish shores; and if the adjacent coasts of Scandinavia were indeed peopled before the Celts or Belgæ could penetrate into the northern parts of Britain, we might with some reason conclude, that the first inhabitants of ancient Caledonia were a Scandinavian colony. Let us rather confess our uncertainty than fondly substitute conjecture for historical truth.

The history of Scotland commences with the victories of the Romans over its ancient inhabitants. Agricola, the general of Domitian, displayed the triumphant ensigns of Rome at the foot of the Grampian mountains. The various tribes of the natives in vain combined to oppose his progress. The scenes are

still distinguished on which the disorder and the unsteady impetuosity of the Caledonians yielded to Roman discipline and Roman valour.

But Agricola's victories were too splendid not to move the jealousy of the tyrant whom he served. He was prevented by his recal from penetrating to the most northern limits of Scotland, and from completing the conquest of all the British isles.

Before he left the island he had considerably enlarged the limits of the Roman empire, and had fortified the isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde by a line of military posts.

For more than thirty years after this period, all that we can gather from the Roman historians is, that the provincial Britons struggled from time to time to recover their freedom, while the free natives were perpetually renewing their inroads, and the Romans, wearied out by the incessant conflict, insensibly contracted the limits of their dominions.

At length Adrian ascended the Imperial throne. It was the policy of this emperor to visit in person the various provinces of his dominions. The state in which he found Britain induced him to relinquish a large extent of territory to the invasion of the barbarians of Caledonia, and to fortify those provinces which were yet defensible, by an earthen wall extending between the mouth of the river Tyne and the Solway Firth.

Thus was all Scotland, in some measure, abandoned to the Caledonians and their British allies, who had been by them encouraged to shake off the Roman yoke.

But

But what the necessities of one period, or the policy of one emperor, had made the Romans relinquish, a change of circumstances, or of counsels, soon prompted them to resume. Urbicus, under Adrian's successor, reconquered the southern division of Scotland, and raised another earthen wall for a barrier to protect his conquest; nearly in the same line, in which Agricola had established his fortified posts, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

The Meatœ, (the people inhabiting the intermediate space between these two walls, called Pretentures), thus by turns lost and recovered their freedom. But they never rested in patient submission to the Roman yoke.

In the reign of Antoninus, the philosopher, they again struggled to expel their foreign lords. Their efforts were unsuccessful, or were at least speedily repressed by Calpurnius Agricola.

In the succeeding reign of Comodus, the Caledonians burst through the barrier which Urbicus had formed to restrain their incursions, excited the Meatœ to join their expedition, and penetrated with fierce impetuosity into the provinces beyond Adrian's wall. They were soon defeated and repulsed by Marcellus. But this general was succeeded by a series of weak or base commanders, hated or despised by their own troops, and unfit to guard the frontier of a declining empire.

At length Pertinax, destined to die emperor, and after him Clodius Albinus, who also assumed the Purple, restored order and discipline among the Roman troops in Britain, and awed the incroaching barbarians But the ambition of the empire,

empire withdrew Albinus from the defence of the British frontier.

The Caledonians renewed their incursions, and were again seconded by the Meatœ, who had by this time almost fully vindicated their independence. Virius Lupus, a governor, sent by Severus, was forced to buy the retreat of the invaders with money, when he could not repulse them in arms. Secure of feeble opposition and hopeful of levying from time to time the same tribute, the barbarous warriors continued to infest the Roman provinces with incessant hostilities.

They were enemies not unworthy of Severus. Superior to the infirmities of age, he came into Britain to aid the yielding provincials. The country between the two walls was the scene of many a skirmish, in which the natives, with various success, strove to turn or retard the progress of the Roman army. But neither disease, nor the natural difficulties of the country, nor the valour of its inhabitants, could prevent Severus from carrying his victorious arms into Caledonia. The vanquished inhabitants were glad to purchase peace by the surrender of their arms, and the cession of a part of their territory.

The last great work executed by Severus, was the erection of a stone wall twelve feet high, and eight in thickness, nearly in the same direction as the turf wall of Adrian, and extended from near Tinmouth, on the eastern coast to the Solway Firth on the western.

Yet the terror of Severus could not long overawe the fierce courage of the Caledonians and Meatœ. Hardly had the dying emperor retired to

to York, when they renewed the war. Caracalla was sent against them; but, in his anxiety, first to secure the succession of the empire, and then to enjoy the pleasures of Rome, he soon terminated, by a peace, those hostilities, which he had from the beginning negligently prosecuted.

The walls of Severus had for more than a century protected the provincial Britons behind it from the invasion of their northern enemies. The Scots and Picts now broke through it. Lupicinus was sent by Julian against them; they retired at his approach. But they soon renewed the invasion, and again burst through the wall. They continued their ravages unchecked, till at length the father of the great Theodosius was sent against them. He came upon them near London, encumbered with loads of spoil, and multitudes of prisoners. They fled before the hero, leaving their plunder and their captives behind them. He pursued their flight till they were driven beyond the wall of Antoninus. Restoring this barrier against their future inroads, he reduced the southern division of Scotland into a province, and, in honor of the emperor, named it Valentia.

When the Roman forces, and the flower of the British youth followed to the Continent, the usurper Maximus, and his son Victor, in their unsuccessful opposition to the avenger of Gratian, provincial Britain was left a defenceless prey to the Scots and Picts, who rushed upon it with eager rapacity. Amidst the subsequent distresses of the empire, the Romans assisted the Britons, but with a feeble and temporary aid, and at last were obliged to refuse their protection,

tion, and to withdraw all their forces from the island.

A.D. 449. The abject Britons, thus reduced to despair, and listening only to the suggestions of fear, imprudently invited the protection of the Saxons.

The Caledonians soon found more formidable enemies in the Germans. The Scots and Picts were routed near Stamford in a bloody battle. And the victorious allies established themselves in the fairest provinces of South Britain, and in the south-east of Scotland up to the Firth of Forth. It is even doubtful whether some looser parties did not scatter themselves over the whole eastern coast from the Forth to the Murray Firth.

A.D. 547. In the course of the sixth century, Ida, the leader of a body of Angles, founded the kingdom of Northumberland, comprehending the counties of Northumberland, the Merse, and the three Lowthians.

In their first struggles with the Britons, the Ango Saxons were induced to seek the alliance of the Scots and Picts, who at this period were governed by their own hereditary princes.

If we may trust old chronicles, the line of Fergus had ere this time been settled on the Scottish throne, and the race of the Drust on the Pictish. But the history of all these princes is for some centuries too barren, or too fabulous to merit a particular detail.

A. D. 843. At length, in consequence of intermarriages between the royal families of the two nations, after a long series of wars the Scots and Picts were united under one sovereign,

reign, Kenneth Mac Alpin, heir and representative of the Scottish regal line, who, after a not inglorious reign, died at Forteriot, leaving to his successor a whole nation whom he had found enemies, now subjects and friends.

CHAP. II.

From the Union of the Scots and Picts to Malcolm Canmore.

Donald Constantine.

DONALD, brother to Kenneth, reigned four years. He was followed by Constantine, his nephew, son of Kenneth.

At this time Denmark, and the northern nations sent over great numbers of their inhabitants to Scotland as well as England. Constantine offered them a friendly reception, and thus procured some respite from their depredations.

Another party of Danes, landing on the coast of Fife, and committed most horrid barbarities. Constantine defeated one of their chiefs in a pitched battle, but was in his turn totally routed by another, and, being made prisoner, was beheaded by the enemy in a cave, called afterwards the Devil's Cave. Constantine was succeeded by his brother Eth, who reigned but one year. Eth

Gregory the Great.

The prince, who next mounted the throne, was Gregory, surnamed the Great. The extreme cruelties committed by the Danes, and the inability of the Saxon princes to protect their northern dominions,

minions, induced many of the inhabitants to put themselves under the protection of Gregory, and to pay him homage.

He recovered Fife from the Danes and Picts. The former he pursued into Northumberland, where he defeated them under their leader, Hardnute, or rather Halfden; and having expelled them that province, he turned his arms against the Cambrian Britons, who had seized on Dumbarton and the adjacent provinces, which formerly belonged to their ancestors.

An accommodation was entered into, but violated by the Cambrians, who invaded Annandale. Their prince was defeated and slain, and Gregory made himself master of Cumberland and Westmoreland. His successes did not terminate here.

The king of Ireland being a minor, his authority was usurped by two factious noblemen. Gregory passed over to Ireland in person, and, after several victories, entered the capital as guardian of the young king; appointed a regency, and having left garrisons in the strongest fortresses, he returned into Scotland, where he finished a life of action and of glory at Dundon in the Garioch, and was buried with his ancestors at Icolmkill.

A.D. 892.

It is certain that a great friendship subsisted between Alfred and Gregory, and that the former agreed to yield to the latter all the lands belonging to the Scots and Picts between the two prætentures.

Donald III. of Gregory.

This friendship continued under Donald III., the worthy successor of Gregory. Alfred received considerable service

vice in his wars with the Danes from a body of Scottish troops sent to his assistance.

Another party of Danish robbers were plundering Murray and Ross. Donald bravely encountered them, and, after a signal victory, in which he killed some thousands of them, he died much lamented in the eleventh year of his reign.

Constantine III.

Edward the elder, at this time king of England, uneasy at seeing the Scots in possession of the northern provinces, made great preparations for war; Constantine, who succeeded Donald, was for this reason induced to enter into a confederacy with the Danes.

To the son of the late king, the presumptive heir of the crown, he prudently assigned the principality of Cumberland, on condition of his defending it against invasion. Athelstan, a natural son of Edward, commanded his father's army against the Scots and Danes. Being in no condition to resist their confederate force, he had recourse to stratagem. He offered them battle, but politically retreating from the field, while the Scots were busy in pillaging his camp, Athelstan rallied his army, and cut both Scots and Danes to pieces, the Scottish prince himself being carried wounded out of the field.

This victory procured to Edward the homage of the Scottish king for his possessions lying south of the Forth; as also that of the Britons in Strath Cluyd, and of the Northumbrian Danes. Under Athelstan, successor of Edward, a Danish prince expelled from England, had taken refuge at the Scottish court. Constantine generously

refused to give him up at the hazard of drawing his kingdom into a fresh war; but matters were compromised at an interview of the two kings.

In the year 938, a combined army of Scots and Irish landed at the mouth of the Humber, and were joined by the Prince of Cumberland. Athelstan put himself at the head of his army to receive them; and both parties having encamped in sight of each other, determined to come to action. It is universally agreed that the victory was complete on the part of Athelstan, though not without an obstinate contest.

Constantine, with his ally and a few followers, escaped by sea.

A few years after this failure he resigned his crown to Malcolm, and spent the remaining five years of his life in the solitude of the cloister.

Malcolm. Malcolm's reign was disturbed by a rebellion of the Danes in Moray. This insurrection being quelled, Edmund and Malcolm joined their forces in order to reduce Cumberland, which the latter afterwards held as a fee of the crown of England. This king was slain in a second expedition to reduce the inhabitants of Moray to obedience.

Indulf. The connection of the English and Scots against the Danes was continued under Indulf; by this means, he obtained the castle of Edinburgh, which the English still held. The Danes made various landings on the coasts, but were every where repulsed with great slaughter.

Duff. His successor was Duff, who resigned his principality of Cumberland to Colin, the son of Indulf. The latter, however, not contented

tented with this domaine, excited various insurrections in the kingdom, and at last Duff was either slain or driven into exile.

Colin.

Colin's reign was for five years. He is accused by historians of indulging himself in licenciousness to a degree which is almost incredible. Some accounts say, he was slain in battle by the Britons of Strathcluyd; others, that he was assassinated by the thane of Fife, whose daughter he had deflowered.

Kenneth III.

Kenneth III. the son of Malcolm, vigorously prosecuted the war against the Britons of Strathcluyd, till at last their principality was finally subjected to the dominion of the Scots. He was equally successful over the Danish invaders. Yet the measures he pursued for altering the succession of the crown, in favour of his own family, created general dissatisfaction, and at last occasioned his assassination.

Constantine the bold.

To Kenneth succeeded Constantine, in whose favour probably the the conspiracy had been formed, by which Kenneth was taken off. The other princes of the royal blood did not suffer Constantine to enjoy undisturbed, the fruits of his treachery. Grime, the son of Duff, raised a powerful army, and advanced against the usurper. They met on the banks of the Almond. The engagement was long and bloody. Constantine at last fell; his army was routed and dispersed.

Grime 993.

Grime, regardless of the claims of Malcolm, son of Kenneth, and prince of Cumberland, proceeded hastily to Scone, and was there crowned. Malcolm, however, indignant at this treatment, was obliged for a while

while to suffer Grime to enjoy the throne he had usurped. At length, conscious of his own popularity, he marched northward to assert his right. Success attended him. Grime was defeated and slain after a reign of eight years.

Malcolm, 1001. Malcolm's first step was to call the nobility together, and to request the crown at their hands if it could be done consistently with the law. They acknowledged his right, and invested him with the royal dignity. He rewarded his adherents with the forfeited lands of his opponents, and even with part of the crown domains.

At this period all Britain was grievously infested by the descents of the Danes. Masters of the Orkneys, of the Hebrides, and of Man, they now pillaged the western coasts as they had long done the eastern.

While Malcolm was contending for the throne, they effected a settlement in Cambria. Malcolm defeated them three different times, and thus acquired the title of the most victorious king.

After a reign of thirty years, he died in the castle of Glammis; but whether by a natural or violent death it is impossible for us to discover.

Duncan. Malcolm had no issue to succeed him except Duncan, a grandson by his daughter Beatrix. During his reign a last attempt was made by the Danes to invade Scotland.

After their expulsion Duncan, while attending to the reformation of abuses and the distribution of justice, was cut off by the hand of domestic treachery, in the 7th year of his reign.

Macbeth. Macbeth, a name well known on the English stage, usurped the throne of

of his kinsman Duncan, whom he murdered at Inverness. Historians do not agree in what degree of affinity he stood with the royal family. It would seem that he had some pretensions founded on the ancient constitution of alternate succession.

His mind had long been occupied with ambitious projects, and when once recognized king, he displayed talents for government. But abilities could not procure him tranquillity.

Consciousness of guilt kept alive in his breast a jealousy which prompted him to repeated acts of cruelty. He put to death Mac Gill, then Banquo, the most powerful men in his dominions. Macduff next become the object of his suspicions, saved himself by flying into England: but his wife and infant children were cruelly butchered by the inhuman tyrant.

Macduff applied to Malcolm, son of the late king Duncan, who on his father's death had escaped to his principality of Cumberland. Both addressed themselves to the court of England, and to the earl of Northumberland, for assistance.

Having obtained their request, they made war on the usurper, whom they soon drove to the most inaccessible parts of the Highlands; where, after defending himself for the space of two years, he was at last killed in a sally by Macduff.

CHAP. III.

From the Accession of Malcolm to that of David.

Malcolm III.

MEANWHILE Malcolm had mounted the throne of his fathers; Macduff, thane of Fife, was rewarded for

for his loyalty with the title of earl, and with the honorable office of crowning the king, and of leading the van of the army, which honors were rendered hereditary in his family. Several years of peace ensued.

In the course of these events, Malcolm found occasion to distinguish himself by a remarkable instance of magnanimity.

One of his domestics had conspired against his life. The conspiracy was fortunately discovered to the king. Malcolm commanded not the instant death or imprisonment of the traitor. Taking him for his attendant to the chase, he seized the moment when they two happened to be apart from the company in the depth of a wood. The gallant monarch then drew his sword, called to his astonished follower to do the same, bade him now assail that life with the manly courage of a warrior, against which he had conspired with the dark malignity of a coward. The guilty servant fell trembling at his feet, confessed his treachery, named his accomplices, implored pardon, and obtained it.

The conquest of England, by William duke of Normandy, had driven Edgar Atheling, the heir of the English crown, to take refuge in Scotland. The conqueror demanded that Edgar should be given up to him. Malcolm refused, and war was immediately declared. This was carried on as usual by inroads, but produced no memorable event. William concluded a peace on receiving the homage of Malcolm for his Cambrian possessions.

With Edgar there had arrived in Scotland his mother and two sisters. The princess Margaret

captivate

captivated the heart of Malcolm, and became his wife. The example and prudent counsels of this lady, a pattern of piety and politeness, contributed greatly to a general reformation of manners. By her influence, wise laws were framed, and old barbarous customs abolished. Great attention was paid to the instruction of both clergy and people. Parish churches were built; new dioceses founded ; nothing in short was neglected that could promote religion, order, learning, and politeness.

These salutary measures were occasionally interrupted by the evils of war. Malcolm was obliged to march in person to quell an insurrection that broke out in Ross, Murray, and Mar. When he arrived on the banks of the Spey, he ordered his troops to advance, and to pass the river. His standard-bearer seeming to halt, Malcolm plucked the banner from his hands, and gave it to a brave knight, who plunged immediately into the stream. The rebels, intimidated at this resolution, employed their clergy to intercede for their pardon.

The venerable fathers accordingly appearing on the further bank in a posture of humiliation, the king ordered them to be ferried over, and received their submissions, but refused to grant them an unconditional pardon. He permitted the common people to retire to their homes; but some of the ringleaders were either put to death, or had their lands forfeited; others were condemned to imprisonment.

The peace with England was again interrupted. The conqueror being in Normandy, the Scottish king took advantage of his absence to make himself

self master of Northumberland. William did not live to oppose the Scots again in person: but his son had no sooner established himself on his father's throne, than he made preparations to drive them back within their ancient limits.

His fleet was dashed to pieces by storm, and almost all on board perished. The counties by which his army must march were so much laid waste, that part of his troops perished by famine. A negotiation extricated William from this embarrassment. Malcolm consented to yield all his possessions in Northumberland, except twelve manors.

Fresh differences occurring, Malcolm agreed to repair to William's court, to redress all grievances. Upon his arrival at Gloucester, he could get no admittance but on condition of doing homage, and submitting to the judgment of the English barons in full court. Malcolm refused compliance, returned in a rage, and raised a new army.

After laying waste the open country, he besieged Alnwic. According to Scottish historians, the place was so closely pressed, that a knight came out of the castle with its keys on the point of a spear, and telling those with whom he met that he was come to lay them at Malcolm's feet, that prince advanced to receive them, and was by the traitor run through the eye, and killed on the spot. They add, that the prince Edward was mortally wounded in endeavouring to avenge his father's death.

English historians say, that Malcolm and his son fell in battle, and that their army suffered a total route.

Margaret

Margaret at this time lay sick at Edinburgh Castle. When he heard that the Scots were defeated, her son and husband slain, her strength and spirits failed her: she made confession, received the holy sacrament, gave her dying blessing and advice to her children, and expired.

Of the children of Malcolm and Margaret seven survived them: Edmund, Edgar, Alexander, and David, sons; Matilda and Mary, daughters.

Donald Bane.

The collateral succession, with all its disadvantages, was perhaps better suited to a turbulent people, who scorned all submission to the shadowy royalty of a minor. Malcolm's sons were too young to assume the royal authority; and such was the attachment to ancient modes, that the hereditary succession was again set aside, notwithstanding all the laws made in its favour. Donald, surnamed Bane, brother to the deceased, ascended the throne.

Edgar Atheling, uncle to the young princes, conducted them into England beyond the reach of his violence: nor did the English monarch cherish resentment against the family of his fallen rival.

Donald, on his accession, expelled from Scotland all foreigners: and in order to support himself, he called in the Norwegians, renouncing in their favour all claims on the Orkney and Shetland isles.

Those barbarians as usual rendered themselves more odious than ever the English had been; and the Scots complained that their country was in danger of becoming a province of Norway.

William formed the design of placing Duncan on the Scottish throne. This was a natural son of

of the late king's. It was supposed that he appeared at the head of an English army to vindicate the rights of his father's legitimate children. Many English adventurers joined his expedition: the Scots flocked to his standard, and Donald was obliged to take refuge in the Hebridæ.

The people imagined that Duncan was to raise Edgar to the throne of his father, but instead of that, he repaired to Scone, where he was crowned.

The Scots had not expelled one usurper in order to receive another; they conspire against Duncan, and by his death make way for the restoration of Donald; but he was not long to enjoy the prize of his crimes.

Edgar Atheling, with the consent of Rufus, raised an army in England, to restore his nephew. With two thousand men, young Edgar and his uncle marched into Scotland. The usurper could not make his escape as formerly. He was taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he was cast to languish out the remainder of his days in a dungeon.

Edgar. The peace with England was soon after cemented by a matrimonial alliance. Matilda, sister of king Edgar, was given in marriage to Henry, the brother and successor of William.

After a reign of eight years, which was disturbed by no domestic conspiracy, no foreign wars, Edgar died in the year 1107.

Alexander. He was succeeded by his brother Alexander, who left his principality of Cumberland to his brother David. He proved himself not inferior to his father in the qualities necessary to the ruler of a barbarous people.

The

The northern parts of the kingdom were filled with tumult and disorder. Alexander raised an army, attacked the insurgents separately; whom having entirely subdued, he ordered numbers of the most powerful to be executed immediately. Upon his return he was accosted by a widow, who complained that her husband and son had been killed by an earl, their superior.

He alighted from his horse, and swore he would not remount him until enquiry should be made into the justice of the complaint, and finding it to be true, the offender was hanged in his presence. The remainder of Alexander's reign was spent in civil and ecclesiastical regulations.

About this period, the church of Scotland begins to take its place among national churches, and to maintain its dignity and independence. We shall see that the popery they professed did not prevent them from rejecting the decrees of the Roman see whenever they found their privileges in danger*. The beginnings of this church, like those of the kingdom, are involved in darkness and uncertainty. Tertullian, a father of the second century, asserts, that the light of the gospel had penetrated farther into Britain than the arms of Rome.

It must have reached the provincial Britons at a very early period. From them it may have been communicated to the Matæ or Midland district.

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* When Edward I. demanded a bull from the pope, authorizing him to collect the tenths in Scotland, the pope replied, he could make no such grant without consent of the Scottish government.

The

The Picts and Cambrians had been converted by Ninian, first bishop of Whithorn, in Galloway, about 400. S. Columba, another apostle of the Picts, had founded the famous abbey of Iona or Icolmkil, which became the seat of learning as well as the seminary of the clergy for many ages; and lastly, Palladius was sent for by pope Celestine to the " *then believing* Scots" as their first bishop.

A.D. 431. When † Hyona was destroyed, the monastery of Dunkeld rose to rival that religious seminary. St. Andrews was the next in order of the institution, among the religious establishments of Scotland. Malcolm III. had founded the sees of Murray and Caithness, and the monastery of Dumfermline.

Other * bishoprics and religious houses had been founded by different princes, and at last the clergy began to hold regular councils.

In the year 906, king Constantine, Kellach the bishop, and the Scots, solemnly vowed to observe the laws and discipline of faith, the rights of the churches, and of the gospel, on a little hill near Scone. Several of these councils were

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† The isle of St. Colm is near three miles long, and above a mile broad. Among the ruins of the old cloister, there remains a church-yard, in the west part of which are the tombs of forty-eight kings of Scotland in the middle: on the right side those of four kings of Ireland; and on the left, those of eight kings of Norway. All the noble families of the western islands have their particular burying places in the rest of the church-yard.

* Before the reformation, there were in Scotland two archbishoprics, twelve bishops, twenty-seven abbacies, and thirteen priories, but very few nunneries.

held

held during the reign of Malcolm Canmore, by the pious zeal of his royal consort, St. Margaret, as Turgot relates, for the re-establishing ecclesiastical discipline, and the reformation of manners.

The monks, who applied themselves to prayer, teaching, and preaching, were called Culdees, from the Latin *cultores Dei*, servants of God. No mention is made of them by Nennius, in the seventh, nor by Bede, in the eighth age. They seem not to have been known before the ninth century, in which we find them at St. Andrew's: though Boece, and other Scottish writers, pretend the Culdees to have been as ancient as christianity in that country.

The monks of Columba were for a long time the only clergy in Scotland. From among them the bishops were chosen, who after their ordination, still retained their veneration for their old superior, the abbot.

In process of time, when the nation came to be provided with secular clergy, the pastoral charge devolved upon them, and the regulars were left to the exercise of a monastic life. This revolution could not be effected without the jarrings of party spirit: hence the differences about the votes of the Culdees in the election of bishops, and in other ecclesiastical matters.

The clergy of Scotland, if not learned, were certainly not illiterate. Abstracting from their religious tenets, the morality they taught was pure and sublime as that of the theologians and philosophers of the most enlightened ages.

In the monasteries, copies of books were multiplied by transcription. The monks could read and

and write: they all understood Latin. Those of Iona went abroad into Germany, France, and Italy. Upwards of twenty religious houses were established by the Scots in Germany, twelve in Lorrain, and a great number in the Low Countries. Every where received and honoured as men of extraordinary piety and wisdom, the Hebudian monks, making allowance for those times, shed a lustre on the nation they belonged to: the monastery of Iona was the most famous in Europe.

Such was the ancient church of Scotland in the days of Alexander, when it was resolved to free it from a secondary dependence on a rival kingdom.

With this view, the king nominated to the bishopric of St. Andrew's, Turgot, the biographer of Queen Margaret. By negotiation, he obtained of the English king an injunction to the archbishop of York to consecrate Turgot, *saving the authority of both churches*.

Turgot died. Alexander next presented a monk of Canterbury; but would not allow him to be consecrated with a dependence on any foreign see. The monk, more attached to Canterbury than to Scotland, declined such conditions, and retired from the kingdom.

Alexander persisted, to his dying day, in his resolution, but was obliged to leave to his successor to finish what he had begun. His death happened at Stirling in the eighteenth year of his reign.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the Accession of David to Margaret of Norway.

David.

A BUSIER period now opens before us. David, prince of Cumberland, and earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, added to all these the crown of Scotland.

Immediately on his accession, the contest concerning the independence of the Scottish church was renewed. A legate from the pope called a a council of the English and Scotch clergy at Roxburgh. There the pretensions of the archbishop of York were examined. The bishop of St. Andrew's received consecration at his hands; but the question of independence or jurisdiction was expressly left undecided.

Henry, king of England, left an only daughter, Maud or Matilda, who was at the same time David's niece.

With all the English lords, David swore to maintain her right; and, on the death of Henry, he raised an army to support her claim against Stephen, who had seized her crown. Stephen hastened to meet the career of the Scot: but both parties being apprehensive of the fate of a battle, an accommodation took place.

A peace extorted by the necessity of circumstances could not be lasting. Stephen refused to abide by his agreement, and David renewed the war. Regardless of the remonstrances of their leaders, his army laid every thing waste before them. Stephen crossed the Tweed, and wasted the

the Scottish frontiers. On his retreat, all the north of England was ravaged by the Scots.

Thurslin, the aged archbishop, held an assembly at York: a solemn fast was sanctified for three days. Bruce and Baliol, names afterwards illustrious in the Scottish history, were sent to intreat peace of David: but offers, intreaties, and persuasions were vain.

They must fight. Ranged around the standard of the cross erected on high, did the English await the attack.

The onset was furious: but the English archers grievously annoyed their enemy, and the fate of the day was still doubtful, when an arm held aloft a bloody head, and a voice exclaimed—"The head of the king of Scots."

The Galwegians threw down their arms—the men of Lothian fled, and the battle was irrecoverably lost.

The king, after attempting in vain to stop the panic, was hurried away by his nobles from the danger, and led the remains of his army to Carlisle.

This victory was regarded by the English rather as a temporary escape than as any security. They sent the Roman legate to mediate a peace. A truce for some months was agreed to.

The whole Scottish army swore never again to violate the seats of religion, nor massacre the feeble and defenceless. And the abbey of Hexam obtained compensation for injuries committed by the soldiery.

The disgrace of the late defeat was in some degree effaced by the seizure of Werk castle, which put an end to the war.

Scottish

Scottish historians have left us in the dark as to other transactions of this reign. David repaired in person to London, when a sudden change of fortune placed his niece Matilda on the throne: but when, by her misconduct, her rival Stephen recovered his liberty and power, the Scottish king with difficulty escaped to his own dominions.

His genius was still better adapted to the arts of peace than to the feats of war. Several burghs obtained charters from him: two bishoprics were erected, and several abbeys founded. He considered these institutions as favourable to cultivation. The clergy managed their lands with intelligence and industry; and their possessions were spared as sacred, when others were desolated by war.

In the spirit of those times, he wished to atone for his sins, and for all the bloodshed of his military expeditions by a pilgrimage to the holy land, but the duties of royalty detained him.

In an advanced age he lost his only and deservedly beloved son Henry, on whom the nation looked as the heir of his father's worth and wisdom, but religion supported him under this affliction.

Before he died, he caused his grandson Malcolm to be proclaimed, and acknowledged heir to his crown. His death happened in the year 1153.

Malcolm IV.

David was succeeded by his grandson, a boy of twelve or fifteen years of age. At his accession Scotland was desolated by a famine. The thane of Argyle preferred a claim to his throne; but was defeated in three battles by the Earl of Angus, and obliged to retire into Ireland. Henry II. of England, demanded

demanded thecounties of Northumberland and Cumberland to be ceded to him. Malcolm went to attend him at Chester; ceded the counties demanded,and did homage for the earldom of Huntingdon.

The Scots murmured at these concessions: yet Malcolm offended them still more, by meeting king Henry at Carlisle, and following him in his expedition against Toulouse, in France.

On his return he was continually disturbed with insurrections, and was saved only by the intervention of the clergy.

The vigour of his military conduct appears in his expeditions against the rebels in Moray, whom he put all to the sword without exception. The thane of Argyle landing again was routed and slain. The thane of Galloway being defeated and shaved, was shut up in a convent. Towards the close of his reign he founded some religious houses, and at last died in a deep depression of spirits.

During his reign the archbishop of York had obtained from the pope the powers of a legate over Scotland; but the clergy evaded submission by an appeal to the pope himself.

William 1165. Already possessed of the regal power, William was crowned instantly after his brother's death. He claimed Northumberland of the English kings, as the only heritage his father had left him. Henry invited him to his court, where he did homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon. He followed Henry into France, and on his return could obtain no satisfactory answer to his demand.

William therefore entered into the confederacy formed against Henry by his own sons and the king

king of France. He assembled an army—ravaged the banks of the Humber, and laid siege to Carlisle. Richard de Lucy invaded Scotland by the way of Berwick, which he burnt. A proposal of a truce was made by the bishop of Durham: it was agreed that hostilities should cease until eight days after ensuing Easter.

The interval was employed in preparations.

At the expiration of the truce, William took the field; but, imprudently dividing his forces, he was surprised and taken prisoner. He was first confined in the castle of Richmond, whence he was transported to Falaise, in Normandy.

David, of Huntingdon, at the news of his brother's captivity, hastened to Scotland.

He found the nobles ready to purchase the freedom of their monarch even at the price of the national independence. William scorned not to accept his liberation on terms so humiliating.

He, with his barons and clergy, did homage to Henry, at York. but the clergy expressed their submission in language that might admit of a different construction. Five castles were delivered up to the English as sureties—the king's brother and twenty nobles as hostages. Shameful as this convention was to Scotland, it shews how dear their monarch was to his people, and to a brother who would not supplant him. On his return, William had a difference with the pope about filling the see of Saint Andrew's, which ended in a compromise and in mutual concessions.

The church of Scotland had promised to respect the jurisdiction of England "*as she was wont to do.*" The clergy took advantage of this ambiguity, and being summoned into Northampton, they refused

fused all submission. The archbishop of Canterbury laid claims to authority over them as well as the metropolitan of York. Pope Clement III. finally emancipated the Scots from obedience to either.

The accession of Richard to the throne of England was fortunate to Scotland. He released William and his kingdom from that feudal dependency on England, which had been unjustly extorted from him during his captivity, and engaged to restore his fortresses.

This generosity met with a suitable return.— When Richard was detained a prisoner in Austria, William supported his regency against his brother John, who attempted to usurp the throne. David, of Huntingdon, followed the king of England in his expedition to the holy land.

This was the age of crusades. The Scots seem to have had less ardour for the holy wars than other nations. The king's brother had no success in his enterprize. Shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, enslaved, ransomed, and again shipwrecked, he landed at Taymouth, and met with the kindest reception from his brother: he afterwards founded Dundee on the spot where he landed.

No transactions of importance distinguish the remainder of William's reign. He governed forty-nine years, and died in the 72d of his age.

Alexander II. His son and successor was only 17 years of age when he mounted the throne. He was esteemed by his contemporaries, and has been represented as a model for future monarchs. His first step was to demand of John, king of England, to put him in possession of Northumberland. In this demand he was encouraged

couraged by the English barons, who were at war with their king.

After one campaign of mutual depredation, Alexander joined the Barons, who had also invited the king of France to their aid. John, unable to withstand such a combination, submitted himself and his kingdom to the holy see. The only protection the pope could grant him was to excommunicate his enemies, and among these Alexander and the Scots Unawed by the anathema's of Rome, the Scottish king was pushing the siege of Carlisle with vigour, when he learned the defeat of Lewis, at Lincoln.

He now considered it prudent to retire to his own confines, and to seek reconciliation with the pope. Accordingly he received absolution from two bishops sent by the legate. The nation deputed three bishops to obtain a general pardon and confirmation of their privileges from pope Honorius, which was granted.

Peace was restored to the island by the marriage of Alexander with Joan, sister of Henry III. who had succeeded to John.

The attention of government was now turned to the suppression of insurrections, still very frequent in the more distant provinces. After the death of his queen the two kingdoms were again threatened with war; but the armies were disbanded, and a peace concluded. Alexander had enlarged the code of laws, by adding 25 statutes. He died of a fever on an expedition against the Hebudæ, who refused their homage to the Scottish throne, under pretence of reserving it for the king of Norway.

Alexander

Alexander III.

Alexander III. was only nine years of age when he was crowned. Ambassadors were sent to London to demand Henry's daughter in marriage for the young king. This was easily granted.

Both the courts met at York. The ceremony was performed with great pomp. Alexander did homage to Henry for his English possessions, among which particular mention is made of Lowthian.

Henry next pressed his son-in-law to perform homage for his crown. The young king, though entirely in the power of Henry, declined; and Henry honourably dropped all claim of superiority, confirming his assurances with a charter.

On his return to Scotland, Alexander found the Cumyns had formed a strong party against him, while they and their followers exclaimed, that Scotland was now no better than a province of England. Henry received intelligence that the nobility kept their king and queen as two state prisoners.

He privately dispatched the earl of Gloucester and his favourite John Monsel, with a band of trusty followers to gain admission into the castle of Edinburgh, which was then held by John Baliol and Robert de Ross, noblemen of great interest in England, as well as Scotland.

The earl and Mansel being disguised got admittance into the castle, on pretence of their being tenants to Baliol or de Ross; their followers also obtained access without suspicion.

The queen immediately joined them, and disclosed all the tyranny in which she and her husband were held. Beside other particulars, she

declared

declared that her jailors obliged her to lie in a bed apart from her husband. The English being masters of the castle, ordered the king and queen to be accommodated with one bed that very night.

When Henry heard of the success of his party, he sent a safe conduct for the royal pair to meet him at Alnwic. The Cumyns were removed from the council board, and others substituted in their places. In order to avoid giving offence to the Scots, Henry bound himself, that what he then did should never be drawn into a precedent.

The party of Cumyns endeavoured to recover their power, and between the two factions the kingdoms was a scene of confusion.

Alexander at length assumed the exercise of regal power, when a storm was ready to break in another quarter.

Haco, of Norway, came with a mighty fleet against the western coasts of Scotland. He landed with 20,000 men in Ayrshire. Alexander marched against him, and came up with the enemy at Largo.

The battle that ensued was uncommonly bloody. Victory at last declared in favour of the Scots. Of the Norwegians no fewer than 16,000 are said to have perished in the field. Haco with difficulty escaped to the Orkneys, where he died of grief. Magnus, successor of Haco, renounced all right to the Hebudæ and the Isle of Man. Alexander undertaking at the same time to pay Magnus 1000 marks of silver in two years, and 100 marks yearly for ever after. As a cement of friendship, a treaty of marriage was concluded between Margaret, Alexander's daughter, then only

only four years of age, and Eric, son and heir to Magnus.

The Scottish clergy refused a demand made by the papal legate, of four marks from every parish church, and six from every cathedral. The legate was refused admittance into the kingdom. Nor would the clergy attend him in England, but assembled a national council at Perth, and enacted canons for the government of their church.

A tenth of the church revenues was again and again demanded for the relief of the holy land. The Scots preferred an expedition at their own charges. The earls of Athol and Carric, with other barons, went, and perished.

The king saw himself bereft of all his children, except Margaret, who was given in marriage to Eric of Norway. In the third year after her marriage she died likewise, leaving only an infant daughter, on whom the crown of Scotland was settled.

Alexander was thrown from his horse over a precipice on the shore, and perished in the fall.

CHAP. V.

From Margaret of Norway to the Death of Bruce.

FROM this period the course of our history will conduct us through a long series of divided councils, contested sovereignty, wars, subjugation, and massacres. Margaret was an infant, and in a foreign country. Faction and anarchy

anarchy distracted the kingdom. Edward, one of the most valiant and politic monarchs that ever sat on the English throne, was ambitious of adding Scotland to the dominions of his crown.

He applied to the court of Rome, to authorise a marriage between his son and his grand-niece, and having gained the consent of Eric, he intrigued with the Scottish nobles to obtain their concurrence. Every thing seemed to favour his views, when one fatal event rendered his well concerted plan entirely abortive.

The child sickened on the passage from Norway, was brought on shore in Orkney, and there languished and died.

The consternation of the Scots can be more easily imagined than described, they saw full before them the unhappy prospect of a disputed succession; war with England and intestine discord. The anarchy attending an interregnum rendered the exigency pressing; it was evident, that if the decision was left to the claimants, the sword alone must determine the dispute. In order, therefore, to avoid the miseries of a civil war Edward was chosen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquiesce in his decree.

The chief, or rather the only competitors for the crown, were Bruce and Baliol, both descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, who was brother to the two kings, Malcolm and William. Bruce was the grandson, and Baliol the great grandson of David. But Bruce was descended of the younger, and Baliol of the elder sister. Both had considerable property in England, and each had his adherents in Scotland.

Edward carrying with him a great army advanced

vanced to the frontiers, whither he invited the nobility and all the competitors to attend him. He opened the conferences, by informing them, that he was come to determine the right among the competitors to the crown, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of superior, and liege lord of the realm.

He then produced his proofs of this superiority, and required of them an acknowledgment of it. The Scotch deputies, astonished at so new a pretension, answered only by their silence. One bolder than than the rest at last replied—"that, concerning this claim of feudal supremacy, no determination could be made while the throne should be vacant." "By holy Edward, whose crown I wear," said the monarch with stern impatience, "I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt."

At their request he granted them a delay till the morrow, in order that they might deliberate. Next day the deputies declined giving any answer to a question which could only be decided by the whole community. In consequence of this remonstrance Edward gave them a further delay of three weeks for taking the sense of their constituents. On the 2d of June following, the assembly resumed its session.

Robert Bruce was the first to acknowledge the superiority of Edward, in which he was followed by all the competitors. Burnel, on the part of Edward, protested that, although now the acknowledged lord paramount of Scotland, he did not finally relinquish his right to the immediate sovereignty of that kingdom. One hundred and four commissioners were nominated to examine the several claims against the ensuing year.—

Meanwhile

Meanwhile Edward demanded possession of all the fortresses, which were shamefully given up to him; and to crown their disgrace, the prelates and barons present swore fealty to the king of England; and the like oath was required of those who were absent.

Baliol.

The commissioners, upon examination, gave their verdict in favour of Baliol, who was crowned accordingly, and did homage to Edward: but this royal vassal was not to hold the sceptre long. Edward pretended to rule in Scotland over king and subjects by English laws. Baliol remonstrated. Edward summoned him to the bar of his tribunal as a private person. Baliol, though a prince of a gentle disposition, returned into Scotland provoked at this usage, and resolved at all hazards to vindicate his liberty: with this view, he concluded a secret treaty with France. The niece of that king was given in marriage to the son of Baliol, and they mutually engaged to assist each other against Edward.

Notwithstanding this treaty, Philip de Valois made a truce with Edward, and left the Scots to bear the brunt of the English armament by sea and land.

The war commenced by an invasion of England. The highlanders ravaged all the country as far as Carlisle, to which they laid siege. Edward attacked Berwick: he found it well garrisoned and defended. We are told that in a sally the garrison burnt eighteen of his ships, and put the crews to the sword. But Edward's land army were at the gates: they assaulted, took, and sacked the town, massacring its inhabitants without distinction.

Elated with success, Edward dispatched an army

army against Dunbar. The Scots hastened to its relief. A fatal battle was fought, in which the Scots lost 10,000 men. Dunbar was taken. Its fall was followed by that of Roxburgh. Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the enemy; and in a short space all the southern parts were subdued.

Still, however, might a valiant prince have found resources: but the feeble and timid Baliol, disgusted with his own subjects, overawed by the English, hastened to make his submissions, and made a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown into the hands of Edward. He was carried prisoner to England, and committed to the tower. Earl Warenne was left Governor of Scotland: the other officers were all entrusted to England.

Among the barbarous expedients devised to humble and reduce Scotland for ever, was that of destroying or carrying away every record, every monument of national history or national independence. Robert Bruce had contributed to the overthrow of Baliol, in hopes of advancing his own preferment. When he humbly ventured to mention his claims to Edward—" What," said the king to him, " have *we* nothing else to do but to conquer kingdoms for *you*?" The temptation was too strong for the virtue of the English monarch to resist, and he determined to hold fast what his arms and policy had gained.

National animosities, and the insolence of victory, now conspired to render the English government intolerable to the Scots, who bore with the utmost impatience a yoke to which, from the earliest period of their monarchy, they had been unaccustomed. Warenne retiring into England,

on

on account of his bad state of health, left the administration in the hands of Ormesby, who was appointed justiciary of Scotland, and Cressingham, who held the office of treasurer. With these there remained a small military force to secure their precarious authority.

At this distressing period arose a true hero, a disinterested patriot, in the person of sir William Wallace, whose magnanimous soul could no longer brook to see his country torn by factions, deserted by its chiefs, and oppressed by foreigners. Robust, active, and brave, he stept forth to reunite the friends of liberty under his banner. 1296

The lustre of his birth is lost in that of his actions; and the rapidity of his victories, and the frequency of his exploits, has disordered the chronology of his history. Many of his noblest actions were, no doubt, performed before his reputation found access to the annals of his country.

In May he made a bold attempt to surprize Ormesby, the English justiciary, then holding a court at Scone. Ormesby, with difficulty, escaped to England. He was soon followed by all the officers of Edward; so that Wallace and his men, with an astonishing rapidity, became masters of Lanerk, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose: the castle of Dunotter, reckoned impregnable, received a Scottish garrison; and Aberdeen, being set on fire by the English, was abandoned to the patriotic band. A.D. 1797

Every new enterprize added to the glory of his name, and to the number of his followers, till at last he found himself at the head of a numerous army.

 Well

Well aware that they should meet with no mercy at the hands of Edward, who would treat them as rebellious subjects, the Scots were rendered now desperate, and, by necessity, forced to the cruel expedient of putting to the sword every Englishman they found in arms.

King Edward, then in France, ordered the earl of Surrey to suppress this daring insurrection.

An army of forty thousand, led on by lord Henry Piercey, marched against Wallace. They found him advantageously posted near Irwin.

But the jealousy and discontent of the nobles ruined their cause: they saw with envy the growing reputation and authority of a private gentleman; confusion and irresolution ensued: in short, the most eminent made their submission, and obtained their pardon from Edward's officers.

Wallace and his faithful band scornfully refused to follow his fickle associates, declaring they would never lay down their arms till their country was restored to liberty and independence. They even harrassed the rear of the English army, but were repulsed with the loss of a thousand men.

Still undaunted and unsubdued, Wallace retreated northward, where he was joined by new adherents.

When Warenne advanced to Stirling, he found Wallace encamped in excellent order on the opposite bank of the Forth. Willing to try again the same arts of negotiation, he sent two friars to Wallace to offer conditions of peace.—" Go, said Wallace, tell your masters, we came not here to treat but to assert our rights, and to set Scotland free: let them advance, they will find us prepared."

Indignant

Indignant at this defiance, Cressingham, at the head of his forces, prepared to cross the river by a wooden bridge that laid over it. Wallace slowly led down his troops, and advanced to meet them; but ere half the army had passed, he attacked them before they could form; put them to the rout, and obtained a complete victory.

This success merited to Wallace the title of guardian; but he still acknowledged the captive king Baliol. Famine, the unavoidable consequences of so long a civil war, now threatened Scotland. Wallace led his troops into England, in order to subsist at the expence of the enemy, and having met with no opposition, returned in triumph, loaded with booty.

This was to be the last of Wallace's successful enterprizes.

King Edward returned from France, and marched into Scotland, at the head of seventy thousand men. Nothing could save the Scots but an entire union among themselves. The elevation of Wallace was still an object of envy to the nobles. Sensible of their discontent, the patriotic hero voluntarily resigned his authority.

The chief command now devolved on the Steward of Scotland, and Cumyn of Badenoch.—Wallace only retained one corps that refused to fight under any other leader. The English army came up with them near Falkirk.

The Scottish bowmen were soon driven off the field by the English archers, who surpassed those of other nations. The pikemen, cooped up in their entrenchments, were so galled by the arrows that they were thrown into disorder; in short, the whole

whole Scottish army was broken and dispersed with great slaughter.

Wallace's military skill and presence of mind enabled him to keep his troops entire, and retreating behind the Carron, he marched in safety along its banks.

Young Bruce then serving in the English army, desired a conference with him from the opposite side of the river. He represented to him the folly of continuing so bloody and fruitless a contest with a powerful monarch, and endeavoured to bend the inflexible spirit of Wallace to submission, insinuating that nothing but ambition could prompt him to continue in arms.

The hero disclaimed any ambitious views, but reproached Bruce for his degeneracy and indolence. "To you," said he, "are owing the miseries of your country. You left her overwhelmed with woes, and I undertook the cause you betrayed—a cause which I shall maintain as long as I breathe; while you live with ignominy, and court the chains of a foreign tyrant."

These sentiments sunk deep into the mind of Bruce, and at last produced that heroism which made him a worthy successor of Wallace, in the deliverance of his country.

After this we find no trace of Wallace in Scottish historians for two years. Some pretend that he went over to France; others, that he still ranged among the hills: be that as it may, Edward with much ado completed at last the conquest of Scotland, without being able either to seize or subdue the patriotic knight.

Disappointed in all his schemes for that purpose,

pose, he did not disdain to stoop to treachery.—Sir William was basely betrayed by a traitor in whom he trusted, and was sent in chains to London; here he was tried as a rebel against a sovereign whom he had never acknowledged, and whose power was founded on tyranny and injustice.

All this and more was urged by Wallace in his defence: his remonstrances were disregarded, and he was condemned to suffer the death of a traitor, which sentence was put in execution, to the indeliable disgrace of Edward's memory. This was the unworthy fate of a hero who, through a course of many years, had with signal conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, defended the liberties of his native country against a public and oppressive enemy.

We have been more particular in the history of this remarkable character than our limits would admit of in general.

A person of no less illustrious fame now claims our attention. Robert, the Bruce, the restorer of the Scottish throne, and father of a new race of kings, was the grandson of the competitor for the crown.

He was in the bloom of life, when he resolved to quit Edward's court to make good his family's claims. His motions were watchedwith a jealous eye; yet he contrived to escape, and to join the Scots patriots at Lochmaben.

Amongthese was Cumyn, a man of great power, but in whom Bruce could put no trust. Historians do not agree as to the causes of this diffidence: but the first act of Bruce was to murder Cumyn, which he did in a church at Dumfries, by stab-

bing

bing him with a dagger. This violation of the sanctuary, and at least of the forms of justice, was what afterwards drew down on his head the anathemas of the church. Obliged now to have recourse to arms, he hastened to collect what forces he could, attacked the English, who were unprepared, and having got possession of several castles, he was solemnly crowned at Scone.

Robert Bruce.

King Edward lost no time to check this new insurrection. He dispatched immediately Aymer de Valence into Scotland, who falling in with Bruce at Methven, attacked him, and notwithstanding a most vigorous resistance, totally defeated the Scottish army.

Bruce fled, almost unattended, to the western isles, where he wandered about for some time in great distress.

Opportunely for his cause, Edward died on his way to Scotland, whither he was again conducting a numerous army. Thus delivered from a powerful enemy, Bruce's party daily encreased. He soon was master of the western highlands, and after a continued train of success, forced Edw. II. to a truce.

On the renewal of the war, Edward marched into Scotland with an army so powerful, that Bruce found it prudent to retire to the mountains. The English were, however, obliged to retreat, partly for want of provisions, and partly on account of discontents at home. The year following Edward assembled his whole forces, amounting, say the Scottish historians, to 100,000 men.

A. D. 1313.

Robert's army did not exceed 30,000, but they were

were men of tried valour. He encamped beside a rivulet called Bannock burn, near Stirling.

The castle being in the hands of the English, had been long besieged by the Scots. Edward was determined to relieve it. He arrived in sight in the evening, and immediately an engagement commenced between the two bodies of cavalry.

In this action Robert encountered Henry de Bohun, and with one stroke of his battle-ax cleft his adversary to the chin. From this favourable event the Scots prognosticated a happy issue to the battle of the ensuing day.

All night the troops rested on their arms. At early dawn the English advanced to the attack, the earl of Gloucester led the van, and impetuously rushed on the foe: the cavalry, which he commanded, fell among covered pits which Bruce had prepared, and were put into disorder. Gloucester himself was overthrown and slain. Randolph on the left wing of the Scots, and Douglas and Walter Stewart in the centre, soon brought into action the corps under their command. The English archers greatly over-matched the Scots.

But 500 light horsemen, detached under sir Robert Keith, armed with battle-axes, dispersed them or hewed them to pieces. All this while a great part of the English forces were prevented by the disadvantages of the ground from sharing in the engagement. Bruce, with the Scottish reserve, now appeared in the front of the battle, and at the same moment the English beheld on the heights what they took to be a fresh reinforcement arriving to the aid of the Scots. These were the attendants of the camp, whom Bruce had ordered to appear in battle array with colours flying.

Panic

Panic struck at this sight, the English gave way, and soon betook themselves to flight. The Scots pursued and made a great slaughter. King Edward with difficulty escaped to Dunbar: but the flower of his nobility fell on that day, and the liberty of Scotland triumphed.

This memorable day did not however restore peace. Continual inroads were made on England, and even an attempt on Ireland by the warlike followers of Bruce.

But first a parliament was convened at Ayr, where the rights of that hero to the crown were fully acknowledged, and the succession established. The princess Marjory, presumptive heir of Robert, was given in marriage to Walter Stuart; and their son Robert was afterwards king, and the first of the Stuart race.

Edward Bruce, chosen chief of the expedition into Ireland, was received as king by the Irish. Reinforced repeatedly by his brother, he had penetrated to the walls of Dublin; famine alone constrained him to retreat, and to risk his all on the fate of one day; he fell a victim to his ardent valour, and was found among the dead at the battle of Dundalk.

A. D. 1348. Hostilities were still carried on between the Scots and English with unremitting ardour. The pope thought himself called upon to put a stop to the effusion of human blood: he therefore proclaimed a truce, but his proclamation was not attended to.

Nor was any truce agreed on till 1319. Then the papal legates were admitted into Scotland, where they pronounced sentence of excommu-

nication

nication against Bruce and the Scots. The barons justified their defence of their liberties.

Their remonstrance had its effect at Rome. The holy father felt that Edward had great share of the blame in the calamities of the war.

It was however again renewed, and the truce of thirteen years was not concluded till after two campaigns more. During this suspension of hostilities, Robert obtained absolution from the sentence of excommunication, and crushed a conspiracy at home: but on the deposition of king Edward, he renewed the war, wrested at length from England a solemn renunciation of all claims on Scotland, and secured a peace by marrying his son David to Joan, sister to Edward III.

Thus ended the glorious conflict of Robert for the independence of his crown, after a reign of twenty-four years.

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CHAP. VI.

From Robert the Bruce to Queen Mary.

A. D. 1331. David.

THE succeeding minority dooms as usual the state to new calamities. David lost an excellent regent, in the person of Randolph; and found soon a rival in the person of Edward, son of John Baliol, who, supported by the English, invaded the kingdom, was proclaimed king, and like his father did homage as vassal of England.

A. D. 1332.

The English sovereign expelled David, his own brother-in-law, who with his queen found refuge in France.

Edward Baliol still treading in his father's footsteps, by dismembering his kingdom in favour of the English, lost the hearts of his friends. David returned from France, repulsed Baliol, and was himself taken prisoner near Durham.

A. D. 1342.

A. D. 1356. Baliol resigned his claims to Edward, who soon after acknowledged king David, and restored him to liberty on condition of paying a great ransom. There happened no event of importance during the remaining years of this reign but the league entered into by the two nations.

A. D. 1371. Rob. II. David made room for Robert II. grandson of Bruce, and the first king of the Stuart family.

The war with England was renewed, and continued with little interruption, and with less national advantage to the end of this reign.

A. D. 1390. Rob. III. Robert III. was in vain summoned to do homage for his crown to Henry IV. He invaded England, but his forces were routed. He learns to his sorrow that his eldest son was starved to death by his uncle, the duke of Albany; and wishing to secure his surviving child James, made him embark for France.

His ill-fated stars threw the prince into the hands of his enemies, and the father falls a prey to his grief, on being told of his son's captivity in the tower of London.

James

James still remained in the hands of king Henry, after many fruitless negotiations; and the regency of the duke of Albany, his uncle, the murderer of his brother, was recognized in Scotland. A. D. 1405. James I.

The accession of Henry V. did not mitigate the hardships of his fate. James was more closely confined, and even led with the English army into France.

When at length, after a long captivity restored to his kingdom, he ruled with firmness and even with severity, for the space of thirteen years, when he was barbarously assassinated.

The murderers of this virtuous prince did not escape due punishment: but the effects of the crime could not be prevented. A. D. 1437.

New broils attended the minority of James II. only seven years old, on his accession. The parliament divided the power between two nobles, who quarrelled about the possession of the king's person; the prince passed from the chancellor to the governor; and from the governor back to the chancellor, by means of the queen-mother. A. D. 1437.

Both united against the turbulent and powerful earl of Douglas; but unable to cope with him in the field, they allured him by fair promises to the capital, where certain and immediate death awaited him and his brother.

At the age of fourteen, the young king assumed the reins of government, was reconciled to the heir of Douglas, but embroiled the whole nation in his quarrel with the chancellor and governor. A. D. 1443.

 England,

England, jealous of the marriage of James with Mary of Gueldres, renewed the war, but on losing the battle of Sark, listened to proposals for a truce.

About the time of the king's marriage, which was performed with royal pomp, Douglas finding his interest at court decline, retired into France.

James after rendering justice to his injured subjects. and destroying the castle of Douglas, received the earl again into favour.

But finding him not contented with the rank of the first subject, and provoked by his insolent language, the king stabbed the earl with his own hand, regardless of a safe conduct granted by himself.

This was followed, as might be expected, by a civil war, which was no sooner got over, when another arose.

Harmony being at length restored, and the truce with England again prolonged, the delusive prospect of happiness appeared for a moment. But the war soon recommenced against England; and when the earl of Huntly arrived in the camp, a fatal salute was given by the royal artillery, when one of the cannons bursting, carried off, in the flower of his age, this loving monarch from his affectionate people.

A. D. 1460. James III. The minority of James III. commences with adjusting the difference between the party of the queen his mother, a lady of magnanimity and vigour, and Kennedy, a bishop of acknowledged merit. Their mutual friends were put in possession of the prince's person.

But

But the nation had soon to lament the death of both; and the contest for power was warmly carried on between the Boyds and the Kennedys.

After his marriage with fair Margaret of Denmark, the king gave himself up to astrology, and through jealousy made away with his own brother, the earl of Mar, while the duke of Albany, the other brother, escaped to France.

The latter was invited to England, now again at war with their northern neighbours, and soon took the title of Alexander, king of Scotland, by the gift of Edward.

To make good this infamous transaction, English forces marched to the borders, whither James also repaired, but to his cost. His discontented nobles rise up against him, they put his vile minions to death before his eyes, conduct their sovereign to Edinburgh Castle, and disband the army.

Albany marched straight to Edinburgh; a treaty was concluded: he returned to his allegiance, and to his brother's favour.

The English then retired, and the liberated king committed many of the nobles to the prison which he had just left.

The reconciliation between the brothers was neither sincere nor lasting. Albany again withdrew to England; but a fresh confederacy was formed against James: the rebels prevailed on the king's son, the young duke of Rothsay, to head their army.

An engagement took place near Bannockburn; the king lost courage at first onset: in his flight, he was thrown from his horse, and carried to the

first hovel, where he was stabbed to the heart by one of the insurgents.

A. D. 1487. James IV.

A prince begins his reign with a bad grace, when at the head of insurgents. James IV. called at once to justify and to punish the death of his king, to avow himself guilty, or to disgrace the memory of a father, felt himself more inconsolable for the part he acted, than elevated by his new dignity.

The gallant admiral Wood displayed his loyalty equally by accepting English aid to avenge his king, as by conquering these faithless allies become lawless pirates. In vain did king Henry send other ships to resent the injury. Wood with two vessels takes the three sent against him, as he had formerly taken five.

James continued to feel the most lively remorse for the share he had taken in the rebellion that occasioned his father's death. He is said to have undertaken several pilgrimages on that account, and to have worn an iron chain on his body, to which he added a new link every year of his life.

After a short interruption, a seven years truce was agreed upon between England and Scotland: an English princess was given in marriage to the Scottish sovereign, and peace for some time secured.

A. D. 1503.

The navy of Scotland seemed at this time to make a considerable figure; a squadron was sent into the North Seas to the aid of John, king of Denmark; the Flemish and Dutch were next chastised for insulting the royal flag; a fresh war was rashly entered into against Henry VIII. brother

ther of James's Queen, at the instigation of the French court. Notwithstanding the advice of his best counsellors, and the intreaties of his queen, James leads an army against England; where, at the memorable battle of Flowden-fields, he lost the flower of his nobility, and his own life, as has been mentioned in the English part of this history.

A. D. 1513. James V.

It is extraordinary that no advantage was taken by Henry of the death of king James, and of the infancy of his son.

Margaret, Henry's sister, being regent and guardian by her husband's will, was not attacked by her brother. She accepted the aid of some leading men; but being delivered of a son, she soon afterwards took the earl of Arran for her second husband.

A. D. 1555.

The Duke of Albany, then in France, was elected regent in her stead. He ruled for some time without reproach, and defeated the machinations against his power. But having put to death the earl of Hume and his brother, who were intriguing against him, his authority daily declined: on his return from France, whither he had gone for his own affairs, he found his deputy murdered; so that, despairing of restoring order, he finally retired to his country.

The young king was now called upon to assume the government at the age of thirteen: with a council of eight, which was soon discarded by the earl of Angus, one of the number. Impatient of controul, James shook off the yoke of his council; he proceeded with steadiness and prudence to administer justice, and to regulate the state.

state. He had, however, the misfortune to displease his nobles by some proceedings they deemed severe.

Henry VIII. proposed an interview with his nephew at York, in order to induce him to embrace the protestant religion; but provoked at a refusal he invaded Scotland. The nobles assembled reluctantly their forces to repel; but when called to pursue the invaders, they refused to march beyond their borders.

The indignant sovereign disbanded his forces, and retired. In order to revive his spirits, an inroad was planned on the western borders, but the king despising and distrusting his nobles, gave the command to a man of less note.

Provoked at this insult, the troops refused to
A. D. 1542. fight at the Raid of Solway Moss, 10,000 men laid down their arms before 500 Englishmen, without striking a blow.

These sad tidings broke the proud heart of James. He refused from that moment to take any sustenance, and, after languishing some days, expired in the 31st year of his age.

CHAP. VII.

From the Birth of Queen Mary to her Return from France.

Mary, A. D. 1542. WE are now come to the most memorable era of the Scottish history, whether we consider the civil or the religious state of the nation, and the important change that occurs in both.

The reader need not be told that we speak of the reformation, which, in its operation connecting itself with other causes, produced a total change in the political and religious system of Europe. The circumstances which brought about this remarkable event in other countries contributed, no doubt, to produce the same effect in Scotland. The chief of these seems to have been the wealth of the church. Though the laiety had contributed by their own profuseness to raise the clergy from poverty to riches and splendor, yet they began to look with a jealous eye on their possessions. On the other hand, it is not peculiar to the clergy to be corrupted by riches, which naturally lead to an indolent and licentious life. An immoral and opulent clergy gradually became the objects of contempt, envy, and hatred; and their doctrines were contested no less than their authority. In Scotland, the state of religion, previous to the reformation, was nearly the same as in other countries. The clergy, secular and regular, held by the gift of kings and nobles, several lands which their industry had rendered the most productive of any in the kingdom: our modern historians* do them the justice to confess that they were the best subjects in Europe; the one half of the public burthens and taxes was paid by them; they even advised James V. to resume the grants prejudicial to the crown, and made him a gratuitous offer of 50,000 crowns a year.

The same king, when urged by his uncle Henry VIII. to seize the revenues of the abbeys after his example, replied—"what need I take them into my

* Guthrie.

hands

hands, when I may have any thing I can require of them; for sure I am, there is not an abbey in Scotland at this hour but would chearfully give me whatever I want; and if there be abuses in them, I will reform them, for there be a great many good."

Whatever we may think of the bigotry of those times, it is remarkable that the incroachments of the Roman pontiff were always resisted by the government and church of Scotland, nor was ever any money collected in the realm, even for the crusades, but by a free grant of the state.

The Scots seem not to have kept pace with other nations, either in their enthusiasm for the holy wars or in their implicit submission to the decrees of the Vatican. When Henry VIII. was excommunicated by the pope, and his subjects absolved from their allegiance, it does not appear that James, his nephew, ever dreamt of preferring his claim to the crown of England on such weak grounds. Ignorance no doubt was very prevalent: printing was in its infancy—books still very rare; and incessant wars checked the progress of all learning: but whatever knowledge there was, the churchmen had it. If we may credit sir Ralph Sadler, the English minister at the court of James, "To be plain with you," says he, "I see none among them that hath any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience; so that the king, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy as his only ministers.—They be the men of wit and polity I see here."—But what has most disgraced the annals of every nation, of every age, of every religion, is the spirit of persecution; and of this charge, we cannot absolve

solve Scotland. Popery, prelacy, and presbytery, each in its turn hath had its martyrs; each its bloody persecutors.

Hitherto there had been no conflict of opinion, and of course no bloodshed. If we expect two foreigners, the one from England, a disciple of Wickleff, the other from Bohemia, a follower of Hus.

In the reign of James I. certain dissenters called Lollards, were apprehended while dispersing their tenets; among which was one directed against the regal power, which they pretended had been abolished by Christ: yet such was the lenity of the government, that they were dismissed with a gentle reprimand.*

Under James V. the doctrines of the reformation were first broached in Scotland. John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, if not the first, was at least considered as the leader among the protestant preachers. Their success, it would appear, was pretty considerable; yet the only act of severity in the annals of that reign is the trial of sir John Borthwic for heresy. He was outlawed for non-appearance, and actually burnt in effigy. This sentence cost dear to Hamilton, the judge, who pronounced it: for the infant party had already influence enough to bring him to the scaffold, under pretence that he had conspired the death of the king. After this event, the adherents of the old and new religion continued to live under the same government, if not at peace, at least not in open warfare.

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* Guthrie.

Many

Many causes concurred to keep matters in this state till the death of James V. The reformers could only insure to themselves, by a peaceable deportment, that toleration and connivance which they stood in need of to propagate their tenets, the established clergy sought to recover the favour of the people by gentleness; and wished to use first all the arts of persuasion to reclaim their wandering flock. Both parties were doubtful of their strength, and each dreaded to encounter a formidable antagonist. These might lose their dignity and benefices; those might forfeit their liberties and lives. Add to this, as a late ingenious writer remarks, that the reformation took its rise among the clergy themselves. Knox was a priest, as had been Wicleff and Hus long before him. Buchanan had been bred among the friars, and is it not to the jealousy of a German monk that we owe that spark which raised such a conflagration in Europe? A reformation of abuses was desired by every good priest; and such a reform as the protestants proposed must have been highly acceptable to those who wished to get rid of the unnatural yoke of celibacy, and hoped to perpetuate the enjoyment of their benefices in their own family. For all these reasons the reformation went quietly forward for many years, and the persecutions which did occur were comparatively few, and of short duration.

Mary, Queen of Scots, was born a few days before her father's death. The disasters of her reign began and ended only with her life. Civil and religious dissensions immediately broke out under the specious pretexts of love of truth and liberty. Independent of conscientious motives, which

which it is illiberal to refuse to either party, the ancient religion of the country had not only all the force of early habits and prejudices of education in its favour: it was further supported by the wealth and dignity of its prelates, by the influence of the queen Dowager, and all the interest of France. The new doctrines were countenanced by the powerful monarch who had separated England from the papal see; and were not a little furthered, we may suppose, by the love of change and novelty in many, by the hopes of booty in the nobles, and by the simplicity of the multitude.

Scotland, at this eventful period, becomes the field for the two parties to try their strength; and the old or new doctrines prevail according as French or English politics are predominant.

Cardinal Beaton, a man of talents, aspired to the office of Regent; but the earl of Arran, though of inferior parts, was preferred, as a friend to the reformed doctrine, and his first step was to agree to a proposed marriage between the son of Henry VIII. and the young queen.* It was even stipulated that at ten years of age she should be sent to England.

This treaty met with the opposition it deserved, especially from the Cardinal, who was on that account confined as a prisoner. The national spirit was roused against the alliance with England, and the regent could only save himself from ruin by

* It appears from sir Ralph Sadler's letters that several nobles received pensions from Henry. Angus had 100l. a month, but demanded 200l. for the party.

changing sides, and taking part with the cardinal, and the friends of France.

The apostacy of Arran, who publicly abjured the tenets of the reformation, was in some degree compensated by the accession of Lenox to that party.

This young nobleman had returned from France with a view to counteract the regent and the English interest, but finding himself slighted by the cardinal, he retired into England, after a fruitless attempt to disturb the government by force of arms.

The cardinal now ruled both the regent and the realm. The king of England alienated the minds of the Scottish nation more than ever, by landing forces at Leith, and laying that town and Edinburgh in ashes. A peace, however, was soon after concluded.

A. D. 1544.

"Hitherto we find the reformers, by their mortifications and austerities, endeavouring to resemble the first propagators of christianity: they had suffered with a spirit so nearly resembling the patience and fortitude of the first martyrs, that more were converted than terrified by those spectacles." Happily for the reformation its spirit was still under some restraint. It had not yet attained firmness and vigour sufficient to overturn the established religion. "Under such circumstances any attempt towards action must have been fatal to the protestant doctrines: and it is no small proof of the authority as well as the penetration of the heads of the party, that they were able to restrain the zeal of a fiery and impetuous people, till that critical and mature juncture,

juncture, when every step they took was decisive and successful.*

Wishart is described to us as a man of primitive "sanctity, a popular preacher of such candour and sweetness of temper, †" that the cardinal's life had been more than once in danger by his attempting to apprehend him. This gave rise to the many reports that he was a party in the plot to murder the cardinal.

That such a plot was, by this time formed, can admit of no dispute; for it appears by Sadler's letters and other evidences, that the chief person in the conspiracy had a correspondence with the English ministry.

Dr. M'Kenzie, in his life of Wishart, mentions a letter, dated April 17, 1544, from the earl of Hertford to king Henry: the stile and manner of which bear great marks of authenticity. That the reader may judge for himself, we shall give it in a note. ‡

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* The penetration of the Scottish historian has then discovered, and his candour avows, that our first reformers, who complained so loudly of papal tyranny, wanted not the will but the power of dealing with others not as they would be dealt by. The clergy of every sect and of every age have been nearly the same: severity and persecution have ever been practised by those who preached up the meekness of the gospel: but the principle which condemns the execution of Wishart, will never justify the assassination of Beaton.—Robertson.

† Guthrie.

‡ "This day arrived from Scotland Mr. Wishart, who brought me a letter from my lord Brinston, and according to his request, I have taken order of the repair of the said Mr. Wishart to your majesty, for the delivery of such

If this letter be authentic, it would appear that the famous martyr, Wishart, was brought to the stake on other charges beside his adherence to the new opinions. As we have not the particulars of his trial, nor any impartial history of the times, we must leave the matter undecided.

The certain fact is, that cardinal Beaton, armed with the laws of the land, tried and executed him at St. Andrew's.

At his death, he is said to have been endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and to have foretold, that within a few days, the cardinal should "lie low;" "and that the wrath of God should seize shortly not only on that wicked man who was lord of the castle, but also on the city."

This prophecy, by whatever spirit it was dictated, was in fact very soon fulfilled. * "Private revenge, inflamed and sanctified by a false zeal for religion," impelled Norman Leslie, with fifteen con-

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letters as he hath to your majesty, from the lord Brinston; and also for the said declaration of his credence, which, as I can perceive by him, consisteth of two points; one in the laird of Grange, late treasurer of Scotland, the master of Rothes, the earl of Rothes, his eldest son, and John Chartres, who would attempt either to apprehend or to slay the cardinal at some time when he should pass through the Fife land, as he doth sundry times to St. Andrew's; and in case they can so apprehend him, will deliver him up to your Majesty; which attempt, he says, they would enterprize, if they knew your majesty's pleasure therein; and what supportation and maintenance your majesty will minister unto them, after the execution of the same, in case they should be pursued afterwards by any other enemies."—*Keith's History of Scotland, p.* 44.

* Robertson.

federates,

federates, to enter the castle of St. Andrews, where, after turning out the domestics one by one, they forced their way into the prelate's apartment, and rushing upon him, they wounded him with several blows.

But Melvil, a *mild* serious person, says Knox, rebuked his companions for their want of decorum and a proper solemnity in executing their purpose: stepping up to him with much gravity, he *piously* exhorted him to repent of his sins, protested that he had no kind of enmity to his person, and then very deliberately ran him twice through the body. His example was followed by the other conspirators; and the cardinal expired with these words—"I am a priest." A. D. 1546.

Thus fell Beaton, undeniably a man of eminent talents, and public spirit, as free from vice as any man in the age, station, and circumstances in which he lived. He had persecuted a few, and but a very few of the leading men among the reformers: but in this he had done no more than Calvin, in burning Servetus at Geneva. He had done what the established law of the land, and of every land in those days authorized him to do.

Such persecution was no doubt wicked and cruel; but can the error be in Beaton, and not rather in the blindness of the age and of mankind in general?

Pity it is for the honour of the reformation, that the *meek* Melvil, who, with the dagger in his hand, so piously exhorts to repentance, should announce this death as a judgment for Wishart's execution. Pity that the apostolic Knox should hasten to take refuge among the murderers, and seem thereby to make a common cause with them.

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The conspirators conscious of having committed a most unjustifiable action, determine to keep possession of the castle as a place of security, till the expected and perhaps promised assistance from England should arrive. They were joined by about 150 men; and finding the regent's son in the cardinal's dwelling, they considered him as an hostage for their safety.

Money and provisions were sent by king Henry; and the castle was enabled to stand a siege of five months, which concluded by a truce and promise of pardon. It is with reluctance we confess that the protestant party seem again to depart from that *peaceable and regular demeanour* which so justly astonishes Dr. Robertson; who can discover *no instance of a violation of public order or tranquility proceeding from that sect; none where they transgress those bounds of duty which the law prescribes to subjects.*

Innocent or guilty, it is no good precedent to resist with open force the civil power; and no man ought to be judge in his own cause No zeal for religion—not even the presence of Knox himself could *sanctify* such proceedings: and however great we may consider the blessings of a reformation, we cannot excuse the means made use of to introduce it.

From this event, the adversaries of the protestant religion derive a specious plea for endeavouring to crush it by force as a system, setting out with the subversion of civil order, as well as of the legal ecclesiastic establishment.

But to return—Henry VIII. the worthy associate and protector of the heroes in the castle, is

is snatched from them by death,* and left to stand a siege, they are obliged to surrender to the French commander. Their lives were granted them, but they were exiled to France, and with them the zealous Knox. A. D. 1547.

The duke of Somerset, guardian of Edward VI. invaded Scotland, and finding the army of the regent advantageously posted near Pinkey, decoyed them from their situation, and with the advantage of the ground, and the fire from his fleet, gained a bloody victory, having slain above 10,000 men.

Notwithstanding this success, the English evacuated Scotland, retaining only a few forts: and so far from gaining their object of obliging the Scots to consent to the proposed marriage, they drove them to the desperate resolution of throwing the crown and the princess into the hand of the French monarch.

In vain did a few patriots remonstrate against such a measure, tending to render Scotland a province of France. An union with England was rejected with disdain by a high spirited people not accustomed to be dictated to; and a connection with France was formed through the interest of the queen Dowager and her party. A. D. 1548.

Accordingly, the young queen, then only six years of age, was sent without delay into France. Meanwhile French troops were sent to the aid of the

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* After Henry's death, the conspirators entered into a formal treaty with the English government, agreeing to support the match, and were promised considerable pensions.

Scots,

Scots, after successfully attacking Haddington, and other small forts in the hands of the English, rendered themselves obnoxious to the people by their insolence and rapaciousness.

The queen-mother now began to set on foot new intrigues, with a design of supplanting the regent, who was at last induced to resign

A. D. 1554. an office for which his inconstancy and irresolution totally disqualified him.

The queen's regency commenced with the impolitic appointment of foreigners to several posts of trust and honour, to the great dissatisfaction of the natives. They resisted more effectually an intended land-tax for the support of a regular body of troops; and the efforts of the regent to draw them into a war with England at the solicitation of France.

A. D. 1558. The marriage of the Dauphin with the queen of Scotland was now to be celebrated. Eight members were deputed from the Scottish parliament to represent the nation: a majority of them were of the reformed religion; for during the reign of queen Mary of England, parties had again changed their measures. The protestants courted by the queen-regent, favoured the marriage with the Dauphin; and the exiles outlawed, for the death of Beaton, had been recalled at the intercession of the French king.

Mary of England, zealous in the opposite side, might have easily been brought to set aside her sister Elizabeth, and to have acknowledged the right of Mary Stuart to the English throne.

The commissioners, agreeable to their instructions from Parliament, obtained whatever they asked at the French court for preserving the na-

tional

tional independence, and securing the succession to the family of Hamilton, failing the issue of queen Mary.

But a secret transaction, which has since come to light, displays all the treachery and infamy of France. It appears that the young princess had been prevailed on to sign certain papers, by which failing her own issue, she gives to the king of France all right to the crown of Scotland; and disavows every promise to the contrary extorted from her, as void and of no obligation.

The marriage was no sooner solemnized, which was done with royal pomp, when the Dauphin applied to the deputies to acknowledge him as king of Scotland during his own life. They had already agreed to treat him as such during the marriage; they declined proceeding any farther: but this point, which in the event proved of no importance, was at last carried through parliament by the interest of the queen-regent, notwithstanding every opposition from the family of Hamilton.

Once more politics, blended with religion, were to take a new turn. The accession of queen Elizabeth threw again the party of the reformers into the English interest; and for the same reason the French coalesced with the sticklers for the old doctrines.

Queen Mary had been advised to assume the arms of England, and to quarter them with those of France and Scotland, in her plate and furniture. This was in fact proclaiming Elizabeth an usurper, and the illegitimate offspring of Henry VIII. A dire offence! from which we may date the sworn enmity of Elizabeth, that nothing less than the blood of her rival queen could satisfy.

By this it would appear that the court of France aimed at dethroning Elizabeth, and uniting both the crowns in the king Dauphin and Mary. We do not find any effectual or even plausible measures adopted to accomplish an object of equal magnitude and difficulty. The queen of England was not idle on her part to support herself by the interest of Spain, and by that of the reformed party in Scotland.

The latter seem now to emerge from that insignificance which, according to their late favoured historian, could ask nothing farther then connivance and impunity. This they had enjoyed owing to the mildness and the policy of the queen regent for a long tract of years; but increased in number, and supported by the power and influence of England, they found the time for *action* was come.

A. D. 1558. Knox, then at Dieppe, had an intercourse by letters with Cecil, who had orders to fix him in the interest of Elizabeth. Before he arrived in Scotland he wrote to the queen regent, entreating a reformation in the church.

The bishops now seriously alarmed at the progress of new doctrines, prevailed on the queen regent to call their preachers before the council, and to try them for high treason.

When the day of appearance came, the preachers were attended with such numbers, that the queen thought proper to discharge the diet. Her moderation prevailed on the heads of the reformers to content themselves with the private exercise of their religion till they could see what turn affairs would take.

Knox was highly offended at this *lukewarmness*, and

and prevailed on the noblemen and gentlemen of weight to enter into an association for maintaining and advancing the reformation in Scotland, in the name of the majesty of God and his *congregation.* Henceforward they were distinguished by the name of the Lords of the Congregation.

The above association was called the *covenant*, and is the first in order of the leagues formed under that name. It is thereby ordained "to read publicly the lessons from the book of Common Prayer in all parish churches by the curate; or, in case of their refusal, by the most qualified in the parish." This may appear like introducing a new mode of worship by compulsatory means and without legal authority. But they had not yet disclaimed all civil power: for they add, "that it is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of scriptures, be had and used privately, while afterward that God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." A. D. 1559.

The ecclesiastical establishment, thus threatened with an entire overthrow, made a last dying effort to prolong its existence; and notwithstanding the moderation of the regent and of the archbishop, they were induced to inflict exemplary punishment on one refractory priest, in order to strike terror into the whole party.

But the stake at which this last victim expired, proved to be the funeral pile of that religion it was intended to support. The lords of the congregation forthwith applied to the queen, demanding a reformation. Satisfied with their reception, they presented the like demands to the convention

convention of the clergy, who dismissed them with insults and threats.

Exasperated at this treatment, they prepared a petition to parliament, demanding that the judgment of the clergy should be set aside, and that of the secular power decide in matters of religion.

This petition, however, not being presented, a protest was offered, which looked like a defiance of civil authority, and was not suffered to be entered upon the public records.

The regent now invited the ablest of the clergy to consult about the means of reforming the church: at this convocation, the demands of the congregation were again rejected.

Their expostulations with the queen had no better success; she ordered Knox to be apprehended for preaching in public at Perth, as Methven a baker was doing in Dundee. Her orders were disobeyed, and public preaching continued: all the protestant ministers were then cited to appear before her at Stirling.

Alarmed for the lives of their leaders, and for the existence of their religion, the protestants collected to the number of several thousands, and sent intimation to the queen from Perth, that they were come in a body to stand or fall with their ministers.

Her majesty on receiving this message, averse to shedding the blood of a heedless rabble, thought it prudent to temporize: she is said to have promised to stop all proceedings against the new clergy, if the people would quietly disperse.

This promise, however, she did not scruple to violate

violate on having obtained her purpose; for she caused the ministers to be outlawed for non-appearance. It is hard to say which of the proceedings is most to blame, the defiance of civil authority on one hand, or the violation of a promise on the other.

But when both parties proceed to such lengths, the breach must prove irreparable. Indignant at such a treatment from the queen, Knox mounted the pulpit at Perth, and by his furious harangue so inflamed the minds of the multitude, that they immediately began to pull down every vestige of idolatry, and to destroy all the apparatus for mass, &c. all the convents in the town were plundered and destroyed, and the booty was left to the poor as an encouragement.

Other places followed immediately the example of Perth, and the most venerable fabrics were levelled to the ground.

The queen, on receiving this intelligence, hastened towards Perth with seven thousand French and Scottish troops; but finding the reformers ready to oppose her, an agreement was entered into, by which the town of Perth was surrendered to the regent on conditions of indemnity for the past, and of excluding French troops from the town.

At the same time a second covenant was entered into by the reformers, obliging themselves to take up arms in defence of their civil and religious liberty, should the conditions of the agreement be again violated by the regent.

This occasion did not fail to present itself very soon. The queen did not stand to the terms of her agreement; she was of course forsaken by the

the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, who joined the insurgents now at St. Andrews, demolishing convents and pillaging churches. Troops on both sides were put in motion.

After a short truce, the reformers laid siege to Perth, which they forced to capitulate; they seized upon Stirling, and without striking a blow, took possession of the capital. Their progress was every where marked by the destruction of religious houses and the devastation of churches.

The queen allowing some time for their first ardour to cool, and the multitude to disperse, marched in the night against Edinburgh, which was given up to her on terms of allowing the public exercise of the reformed religion throughout the kingdom, and of admitting of none else in the capital.

About this time Francis, the husband of Mary, succeeded to the throne of France.

The duke of Chatelherault joined the congregation, and a third covenant was entered into, whereby the reformers bound themselves not to treat with the regent but by common consent.

The queen receiving succours from France, fortified the town of Leith. The congregation having attacked it unsuccessfully, called a convention to represent a parliament, and there deprived the queen mother of the regency.

Necessity obliged them, however, to retire from Edinburgh, and to solicit aid from England. Elizabeth's first supply of one thousand pounds fell into the hands of the queen regent: but an English fleet soon appeared in the Firth to cooperate with the reformers, and a considerable land army marched to their relief.

The

The queen retired into Edinburgh Castle, where, seized with her last illness, she sent for the leaders of the congregation, to whom she recommended obedience to her daughter, and with abundance of tears she prayed for forgiveness to all that offended her, and asked to be forgiven of those she had offended.

Next day this worthy princess expired, a victim to the treachery and ambition of her own family; forced against her own better sense to have recourse to violent measures against the reformers, whose conduct was far from being irreproachable.

After an intricate negotiation, peace was at last agreed to, on terms of evacuating Scotland both by French and English troops. A. D. 1560.

In this treaty, the power of declaring war or making peace, was allowed to the queen only with consent of the three estates. The government in the queen's absence was lodged in the hands of a council chosen partly by the crown, and partly by the estates, out of twenty-four nominated by the latter. A parliament was held for deciding other weighty matters.

This parliament was accordingly convened: they easily over-ruled the difficulty that there was in having no person to represent the king and queen. A confession of faith drawn up by the ministers was approved of. The prelates, overawed by the number and violence of their opponents, observed a strict silence, which was construed into an avowal of the badness of their cause.

The mass was abolished; sayers or hearers of mass were for the first fault to suffer confiscation of

of all their goods, besides a discretionary corporal punishment; for the second, banishment, and for the third, death. "Such strangers were men at that time to the spirit of toleration and the laws of humanity, and with such indecent haste did the very persons, who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny, proceed to imitate those examples of severity of which they themselves had so justly complained."*

Thus far the ministry found no difficulty in procuring the concurrence of parliament; but when it came to be considered to whose share should fall the riches of the church, we find the zealous Knox to have been wholly outwitted. The nobles had as great a desire as he could have for the booty; and his pretensions to the tythes, &c. were treated as a pious dream. We cannot but allow that such exorbitant claims came with a bad grace from those who had continually reproached the clergy with their love of riches, and with all its concomitant evils.

Happily for the successors of Knox, they have been to this day kept against their will, within the bounds of mediocrity; a circumstance which renders them at present the most respected and the least corrupt of any clerical body in the universe.

It was, however, settled that one-third of the church revenue should be set apart for the support of the presbyterian clergy. From this contribution none were exempt, but the nobles of the congregation, who had contrived to secure many of the church lands.

The convention or parliament, by thus inter-

* Robertson.

fering with religious establishments, had undoubtedly exceeded their powers, and departed from the late treaty, which reserved these objects for the decision of the king and queen.

This did not, however, prevent them from demanding the royal ratification to their proceedings. The person chosen to present this demand must have been equally obnoxious at court as the errand on which he was sent. Sir James Sandilands, from a knight of Malta, had become an advocate for the protestant religion; and not contented with the hope of a reward in heaven, had secured one on earth, by taking possession of the property of the order he had abandoned. His reception was such as might have been expected. The queen absolutely refused her consent on the above grounds: but the proceedings required no further sanction: they had the approbation of the majority of the nation, and had already been carried into execution.

The leaders of the protestants seem to have expected such a refusal; and in order to guard against the worst, they paid their court to Elizabeth, to whom it is strongly surmised they offered the crown, with the hand of the earl of Arran, the next in succession after Queen Mary.

The ambassadors of England had met with little better success than the Scottish envoy at the court of Francis.

The ratification of the treaty was refused for similar motives: but the death of Francis, which happened soon after, prevented matters from coming to an open rupture.

Mary was by this event left at her own disposal,

and it was the desire and interest of all parties, that she should return to her native country.

Lord James, her natural brother, was deputed by the presbyterians, whose leader he was, and Lesly, afterwards bishop of Ross by the catholics, to invite their sovereign to her kingdom. Knox had charged the deputy to give her majesty no encouragement to hope for a toleration of the mass, either public or private, within Scotland.

Previous to his departure, the infant church, in order to lose no time in settling its discipline, had convoked an assembly. The country was subdivided into districts, in each of which a superintendant presided, whose office resembled that of a bishop. They called out to the civil power for the punishment of all who worshipped God in the ancient manner, naming several papists who still frequented the mass, The nobility assembled by the council, dispatched officers all over the kingdom, to summon the people to give an account of their religion.

Another general assembly endeavoured before the queen's arrival to secure all the temporalities of the church; and boldly declared, that "if they were not gratified in their demands, they would again take the sword of just defence into their hands, which after being victorious, they had resigned to the civil power." This insolent menace had such an effect, that a solemn act was passed, devoting to destruction every religious fabric in the kingdom that had escaped the first rage of the populace. The first nobility of the land, men of zeal and distinction were appointed

as worthy of executing this glorious deed. The meek preachers of the word attended to animate the pious flock, and abbies, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, all perished in one common ruin. The very tombs of the dead were ransacked and rifled of every thing valuable. While these proceedings were going on, Mary was preparing for her return. She had asked in vain of her loving cousin to protect her safely home: Elizabeth, dissatisfied with her refusal to ratify the treaty, denied her request, and even ordered her fleet to intercept the Scottish queen. She escaped, however, under cover of a fog, and arrived safely at Leith, in the nineteenth year of her age, after thirteen years absence.

CHAP. VIII.

From Queen Mary's Return to her Death.

WITHOUT experience, without allies, did this young queen assume the reigns of government, in a country to which she was a stranger, a country distracted with civil and religious feuds, which were fomented by the jealousy and interest of the English court. Faithful to the religion of her fathers, she found it impracticable to act by the advice of those who still adhered to the same faith, but wisely employed only those of the reformed persuasion, which was by far the most numerous and powerful. She was received by all parties with great and sincere joy. Her beauty and gracefulness, enhanced by the elegance and politeness of her manners, attracted universal admiration.

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But her subjects had almost forgot the respect due to a sovereign, when on the first Sunday after her arrival, she directed mass to be said in the chapel of the palace: this occasioned an insurrection, wherein the attendants of the chapel were maltreated; and it was not without great difficulty that the prior of St. Andrew's and other leaders obtained from her subjects liberty of conscience for their sovereign, and the exercise of her religion in private.*

This permission was purchased by the royal sanction to the establishment of the protestant religion, which made it capital to infringe or alter it.

For some time Queen Mary discovered great policy, continuing to favour the reigning party, without seeming either to offend, or to court those of her own religion.

Of these the foremost was the earl of Huntly, who no doubt saw with pain his rival the prior of St. Andrew's possessing all the confidence of the queen: the latter, on the other hand, was too good a politician not to improve the occasion for

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* The earl of Arran was the only nobleman who protested against this liberty granted to the queen; and Knox, in a most furious sermon against idolatry, said that onemass was more frightful to him than ten thousand men. Mary ordered Knox to attend her: he has left us a detail of the conversation. Randolph says, "he knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her to weep-' Elsewhere he adds: "His prayer is daily for her, that God will turn her obstinate heart *against* God and his truth; or if the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of his chesen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants in words terrible enough."

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the ruin of the catholic cause and its champion, whose power and influence was very considerable.

With this view he proposed to the queen to make a progress northward, where lay the estates and dependences of the earl; but first he had secured the peace of the borders, by punishing disturbers and exercising justice in a most energetic and laudable manner.

Huntly perceived the drift of the intended journey: one of his sons had incurred the queen's displeasure and was then in prison; but making his escape, he fled into Aberdeenshire. Mary considered this as an insult to her authority, and positively required that the prisoner should surrender himself again to justice.

Gordon engaged to do so, but escaping again he went to head his followers who were up in arms.

This rebellion exasperated the queen so much, that she refused to visit the earl in the castle of Strathbogie as she had agreed to do, at the invitation of his lady, and thereby probably saved the lives of lord James, Morton and Maitland, whose destruction the earl had plotted in his own house.

Disappointed in this scheme, Huntly now broke out into open rebellion. The earldom of Mar had been taken from him to bestow it on lord James, who soon transferred it to lord Erskine, on receiving in its stead that of Moray, another property of the chieftain of the Gordons.

Thus stripped of his possessions to enrich his enemies, the earl thought it high time to resist. He ordered the gates of the castle of Inverness to be shut against his sovereign. The loyalty of the other clans brought them to her assistance; the castle

castle surrendered and the governor was executed. Mary having reached Aberdeen on her return, Huntly raised an army and went in pursuit of the earl of Moray. A battle was fought at Corrichie, where Huntly's troops were routed, he himself slain, and afterwards his eldest son tried and executed.

Thus ended a rebellion so fatal to the family which was the main support of the catholic religion. That party was now reduced to so low a pass that it could not offer any assistance to the queen who was soon to be hurried on to the ruin of her own power by those in whose hands were the entire direction of affairs. The parliament met: the act of oblivion for all the late crimes was ratified and extended. A. D. 1562.

The arch-bishop of St. Andrews was committed to the castle for saying mass, from whence the queen afterwards released him: though it was not without tears that she prevailed on her counsellors to allow of this exercise of her prerogative. Several of the Roman catholic clergy were punished for the same crime.

But nothing effectual being done concerning the revenues of the church, Knox and his colleagues solemnly broke with the earl of Moray, and the courtiers whom they treated as apostates. Their vehement declarations inflamed the people to such a pitch that, during the queen's absence, they attacked the chapel at Holyrood-house during the service, and by their riotous proceedings filled all present with terror. Two of the ringleaders being apprehended were committed for trial.

But Knox approving of a zeal which his harangues had inspired, issued circular letters inviting all true believers to repair to Edinburgh on the day of trial in order to assist and comfort their brethren.

Other scenes of this kind were repeatedly acted; at one time in particular the priest saved himself from being torn in pieces by escaping through a a back door.

In vain did the queen summon Knox to Lochlevin, where she then was.* Their conference ended as usual to the satisfaction of neither.—In vain did she cause him to be prosecuted for assembling the subjects unlawfully. His judges were the very men who acted with him, and his trial was a new triumph.

The protestant nobility, who disapproved of his conduct, endeavoured in vain to bring him under church censure, for usurping the authority of a pope. Knox came also off victorious in this attack.

The thread of our narrative brings us now to the marriage of the queen. From the time of her widowhood which had lasted two years, many were the proposals made to her from different quarters. The king of Sweden, the prince of Spain, the archduke of Austria, the prince of

* Knox laid it down as a maxim that they had a right to punish priests with death. She asked him, will ye allow that they take my sword in their hand? To this he answered that the sword of justice was God's sword, and if princes did not make a right use of it, the rulers under them that fear God ought to do it.——*Knox.*

Condé,

Condé, and the duke of Orleans sued for the honour of her hand.

Her personal accomplishments, her present high station, and the still higher prospects of the English succession, rendered her choice an object of ambition to every prince of the age.

Elizabeth could not remain an idle spectator at an event on which so much depended. She dreaded the marriage of a rival queen, of a successor, to a powerful prince who might enforce her claims to the crown of England; and therefore she recommended to her sister to decline all foreign matches as contrary to the interest of her realm and subjects.

The presbyterians dreaded any marriage with a catholic who might overturn the Reformation and leave a popish succession to finish its destruction. Her catholic friends were equally averse to a protestant match. Long were the negociations and many the intrigues about this affair.

Elizabeth always proposed a subject and a protestant, and even indelicately ventured to point out one of her own favourites, the earl of Leicester, as a proper match for her cousin.

Indignant as Mary must have felt at this suggestion, she durst not openly quarrel with a neighbouring sovereign, who had more influence in the affairs of Scotland than its own queen, and who might have taken violent steps against her rights of succession. A conference was agreed on, which served the purpose of gaining time.

Meanwhile the earl of Lennox, the next after Mary in succession to the crown of England, came to her court, with a letter of recommendation

tion from Elizabeth. He was well received, and readily obtained what he asked, the restitution to his estates, and a reversal of the sentence of forfeiture, under which he laid.

Emboldened by this success, his lady in England asked permission of Elizabeth, for her son, lord Darnley, to visit Scotland. We do not find that this was either granted or refused; but on hearing of his departure, the countess was put under arrest, by order of queen Elizabeth.

Lord Darnley was presented to the queen at Wemyss Castle in Fife. He was in the bloom of youth, tall, handsome, and well bred. His figure prepossessed Mary in his favour; and he was no less captivated with the charms of the fair queen.

The marriage was resolved on, the pope was applied to for a dispensation on account of the consanguinity, and the consent of France and England was sought by ambassadors.

Elizabeth, who had probably contrived the match, and rejoiced inwardly at seeing her cousin stoop to take one of her subjects to her bed, pretended, with her wonted hypocrisy, to disapprove of it highly; with a view, no doubt, to foment disturbances.

The earl of Murray, apprehensive of being superseded in power by the husband of the queen, retired from court in disgust. When invited by the queen to return, he declined signing his approbation of the match, though solicited with many demonstrations of respect and confidence. Most of the nobles were won however by address and promises; and even the preachers were soothed and courted.

Murray and his party formed new bonds and covenants; they corresponded with the English resident, and secured Elizabeth's assistance. They were assembling at Stirling to concert measures of defence.

The queen provoked at such illegal proceedings, summoned all her vassals to repair in arms to Edinburgh for the protection of her person against foreign and domestic enemies; she also cited Murray to appear before her, to answer to such things as should be laid to his charge.

This bold and well-timed step, disconcerted the confederates, who dispersed, after having implored the protection of Elizabeth.

Mary profited by the weakness of her enemies to celebrate her marriage with Henry lord Darnley, which was done in the royal chapel, according to the rites of her church; save that Darnley did not hear mass. Proof that he was then a protestant, which must have considerably added to the popularity of the match; and enabled Mary to carry another point, which was to nominate her husband king, and to order, that all writs should run in the joint names of the king and queen.

This was more than prudence, or even right could justify. The latter, however, does not seem to have been called in question. But a short experience convinced the queen that she had been too hasty in raising a young and weak man, to a share in her authority.

Murray, once more summoned, was outlawed on his non-appearance. His avowed enemies, the earl of Sutherland and the earl of Bothwell were recalled from banishment, and lord Gordon set at liberty.

Concluding from such proceedings that his royal sister was inexorable, Murray fled to Argyle, where he levied troops, being assisted with money by Elizabeth.

But the queen took the field in person against him, and did not give him time to raise any considerable force. The rebels having marched to Edinburgh were soon driven from that city by the return of the queen's army, and finally obliged to retire into England.

Elizabeth, who had gained her point by kindling and keeping up a rebellion in her sister's kingdom, now acted the farce of disavowing every interference of that nature. She even obliged the earl of Murray solemnly to declare she had no hand in the affair. In private, however, she entertained the rebels in her dominions, and even treated with Mary in their behalf. The Scottish queen resented, with proper spirit, this intermeddling in her government; as also the remonstrances of Elizabeth against her marriage.

But alas! this very marriage, from which she had promised to herself so much happiness, proved on the contrary, the beginning of all her misfortunes. Her husband soon appeared unworthy of her affections, and of the high station to which she had raised him; he was addicted to drinking, and to low amours. His fondness was turned into indifference; he treated his queen with coldness and neglect. He discovered a mind as weak as it was ambitious of power; his insolence and scorn alienated the heart of his wife, and she delayed conferring on him the crown matrimonial, to which he aspired.

The enemies of both availed themselves of every circumstance to widen the breach. They persuaded the suspicious husband to regard David Rizzio, an Italian musician, whom the queen had appointed her foreign secretary, as the author of all those counsels which were hostile to his views. They even suggested that the queen, though advanced in pregnancy, had received the adulterous embraces of an ugly old man of a very disgusting appearance.

Rizzio, a poor adventurer, a foreigner, and a papist, could not fail to become an object of jealousy when honoured with any share of the royal confidence.

This upstart, proud of the success of his insinuating address, had drawn on himself a general odium, by his arrogance, and the pomp which he affected to display. At first he had favoured Henry, but was now represented to him as a dangerous enemy.

The exiled lords who kept up their correspondence with Morton, Ruthven, and others still at court, prevailed on the king to dispatch the obnoxious favourite, and he agreed to lead on the conspirators, and to cause him to be murdered in his, and the queen's presence. Accordingly, one evening, while the queen was at supper with the countess of Argyle, Henry conducted the confederates by a private staircase into the queen's apartment. Ruthven ordered Rizzio, who was of the queen's party, to depart from the royal presence, of which he was unworthy. The suppliant laid hold of his sovereign's robes. Henry seized hold of the queen, and Douglas snatching the king's dagger, plunged it into the breast of Rizzio, who,

who, afterwards dragged into the adjoining room, was dispatched with no less than fifty-six wounds.

Nothing could equal the grief and indignation of Mary at this outrage. She reproached her husband in the bitterest terms, for the infamous part he acted, and the indignity she was treated with, being advanced in pregnancy, and therefore exposed to the danger of abortion: but she found herself entirely in the power of the conspirators, and was obliged to dissemble. The day after the murder, Murray and his associates arrived at Edinburgh, and were well received, particularly by the queen.

Henry prorogued the meeting of parliament by his own authority; but soon after he was gained over by the queen's intreaties and remonstrances; and they both escaped by night to Dunbar. Here they soon collected considerable forces to overawe the conspirators but lately so formidable.

The latter were obliged to fly into England, whence, by the intercession of Bothwell, they obtained permission to return.

This earl now grew into high favour at court: Mary stood in need of his power to strengthen his authority, and Bothwell was not sorry to support his interest by the confederate lords, who, on their parts, equally stood in need of his protection.

On the approach of her delivery, the queen was persuaded to take up her residence in the castle of Edinburgh as a place of security, where, on the 19th of June, 1566, she bore her only son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland, I. of England.

An immediate account of this event was dispatched to Elizabeth, who was invited to stand god-mother to the prince. The tidings affected the

the queen of England even to tears; but she dissembled so well that the envoy had reason to be satisfied with his reception.

While preparations were making for the baptism, queen Mary ordered Bothwell, whom she appointed lieutenant of the marshes, to suppress the disorders that had broken out on the borders; but whatever attachment her subjects had to her person and government, they openly resisted the lieutenant in the exercise of his office, attacked and wounded him dangerously.

Mary who was not far distant proceeded in person to quell the insurrection: she visited the wounded earl* at his house, and having received sufficient information from him, returned the same day.

Whether the fatigue of the journey, or disquiet of mind, or other causes had injured her health, she was taken very ill, of a violent fever. Some historians accuse her husband of not visiting her in her illness; if he did, it must have been about the time of her recovery.

This could not fail to alienate more and more the affections of the queen, who now sunk into profound melancholy on account of his disrespectful and ungrateful conduct.

Henry on his part seeing himself deprived of power, and despised by all, resolved to hide his insignificance in some distant country. In vain

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* This is considered by some as a visit of love, and the subsequent sickness as arising from the same cause. Bothwell was a man of sixty years of age, an old suitor of the queen's mother and worn out by his excesses.

did

did the French ambassador, his own father and Mary dissuade him from such a rash step, he still persisted in his design.

Meanwhile the appointed time for the baptism of the prince came on: it was performed at Stirling with great solemnity by the archbishop of St. Andrew's according to the Roman ritual, and was followed by great rejoicings.

The king, though then at Stirling, did not choose to attend the ceremony; perhaps because the earl of Bedford had orders from Elizabeth not to give him the title of king. Soon after this he retired to Glasgow where he was seized with a dangerous distemper.

We come now to the critical period of queen Mary's reign which has employed the pen of many celebrated authors. The question of her innocence or guilt has been so often examined, that nothing new can be said on either side: impartiality cannot be expected on a subject so interesting: we must therefore take a side, but with candour we will allow that although the arguments in favour of this unfortunate princess seem to preponderate, yet those of a contrary nature are by no means without weight.

With this *salvo* therefore we proceed to state such facts as seem duly attested, leaving the reader to form his own opinion of the matter.

About the period of the baptism, the queen was advised by Murray, Maitland, and Bothwell to procure a divorce from her husband. To this she objected that it might turn to the prejudice of her son. Maitland assured her that they would find means to rid her of Henry, without doing any injury to her child. The queen would con-

sent to nothing that could bring a stain upon her honour or her conscience: she therefore desired that they would let the matter rest as it was, until it should be remedied by Providence, for, said she, the service which you may intend me, may possibly turn to my hurt and prejudice." Maitland desired the queen to leave the management to them; promising that all should terminate for the best, and be approved of by parliament.

Bothwell had, to all appearance, ambitious views on the hand of the queen, and on the government. He was accounted a profligate, and had never been in favour with Mary till he effectually aided her against the murderers of Rizzio. Now, however, he acted as their intercessor, and he easily obtained the recall of Morton and the other exiles.

Thus strengthened, he became either the leader or the tool of the party which resolved to destroy Darnley. It is not unlikely that Murray and his friends who had got rid of Rizzio by means of king Henry, thereby rendering the latter an object of dislike to his consort, were glad to work Bothwell's ruin, by exciting him to the crime of regicide.

That Mary was an accomplice in the plot has been alledged on the grounds of some fulsome love-letters, which Whitaker has demonstrated to be forgeries. There is nothing in all her life that manifests a sanguinary disposition: clemency to her enemies she frequently practised evidently against her own interest; and as for her religion be it ever so blood-thirsty, we do not find her zeal so frantic as to deem murder lawful; otherwise, why did she not make away with Knox, the daily

daily disturber of her peace, and the sworn enemy of her church?—But to return:

Mary no sooner heard of her husband's illness, than following him to Glasgow she attended him with great tenderness. As soon as he was able to be conveyed she caused him to be brought to Edinburgh, where she lodged him in a house on a rising ground in an airy, healthy situation.

Here she continued her assiduous care, sleeping several nights in an adjoining room.

On the 9th of February she spent the evening with him, when, recollecting she had promised to attend at a masked ball given on account of a marriage among her domestics, she returned to the palace after eleven o'clock.

About two o'clock in the morning, the house where the king lay was blown up, and the explosion alarmed the whole city. Henry's body was found without mark of violence in a garden on the other side of the town wall, as was also that of the servant who slept in the same room with him.

This is the deed of darkness of which Murray, Bothwell, and the queen herself have been accused; but these charges, as far as we can discover, have been neither completely proved nor disproved to the present day.

Against the earl of Murray, among other reasons, it is alledged that the day before the murder he retired to Fife, where his thoughts being full of the plan, he said to a person in his company: " this night, before morning, the lord Darnley shall lose his life." When the blow was struck, he returned to Edinburgh as he had done after the death of Rizzio.

Against

Against Bothwell the strongest presumption arises from his conduct posterior to that event. And against Mary, her avowed dislike and deep-rooted aversion of her husband, together with her acceptance of Bothwell's hand, appear the most plausible arguments.

No sooner did the sad tidings reach the queen's ear than she fled to the castle as a place of security, fully persuaded that her own blood was thirsted for. Here she indulged her grief, and no doubt saw in what light this catastrophe would appear to a malicious world ever ready to believe the worst.

She learned that the voice of the public blamed Bothwell: she knew not on what grounds. She heard herself mentioned as his accomplice. One charge might be a slander equally with the other. She knew that Bothwell had many enemies. She knew that she herself had no sure friends.

In this perplexity she issued proclamations, to discover the real murderer: offering pardon to any of the accomplices and an annuity for life, besides two thousand pounds to any person who should give information against the authors of the crime. She consulted the father of the deceased, who wrote to the queen, urging her to investigate the matter, and particularly accusing Bothwell.

The day of trial was appointed, but the conspirators intimidated the earl of Lenox to such a degree that he durst not appear to make good his charge.

On the eve of the day appointed, he sent a request to defer the diet, alledging, among other reasons, indisposition. This was construed into an

evasion;

evasion: the judges proceeded in the matter: summoned both the earls, the one as accuser, the other as defender to the bar.

Bothwell came forward, supported by Morton, by a number of vassals and of hired troops, an appearance that looked like defiance rather than submission to justice.

No accuser appearing he was acquitted, notwithstanding a protest entered in the name of Lennox.

According to an ancient practice of the days of chivalry, Bothwell challenged any gentleman who should accuse him of the king's murder, to fight him in single combat.

Thus ended the farce of a trial which looked rather like the triumph of guilt, than the proof of innocence.

For such shameful proceedings, however, we do not see what blame could attach to the conduct of the queen. The judges who absolved, and Morton who officiously defended Bothwell of the very crime for which they afterwards accused him, have thereby invalidated all their testimony against their sovereign in the eyes of every candid mind.

Mary remained immured in a dark room of the castle, hung with black, till her physicians constrained her to retire to the country, in order to recruit her impaired health.

Not satisfied with what had been done, the queen met her parliament, in whose wisdom and support at this critical juncture, she could only confide.

Bothwell was again declared innocent of the murder, and in consequence of his services, his new honours were confirmed to him.

An act was passed stronger than any preceding one, and in favour of the protestant religion, which was ascribed to Bothwell's influence over the queen's counsels.

He now began to lay aside the mask. On the dissolution of parliament, he invited the chief noblemen to an entertainment, where he produced for their signature, a bond declaring his innocence, and promising to promote a marriage between him and the queen. He pretended that he had already obtained the queen's consent, provided they would recommend the measure. The nobles were not surrounded by armed men, and as they afterwards pretended, but heated with wine, some of them were prevailed on to put their names to this infamous bond. Among these were the very men who afterwards charged Bothwell, and Mary herself, with the murder of which the bond declared him innocent* the very men who made the marriage, they themselves had recommended, a principal accusation against the queen. It is true there were some others of a different description, but these gave headlong into the snare, believing *bona fide* Bothwell to be innocent. So much however were they all ashamed or afraid of this transaction and its consequences, that the next day they almost all left town. About this time, or before it, we find Murray too taking his leave, in order to absent himself, with his usual policy, from the scene of action; while his deep laid plot should be thickening. Passing through England, he industriously spread the report of the intended marriage, and

* Murray, Morton, Glencairn, Ruthven, &c.

of

of the suspicions of Mary's share in her husband's murder. Her English friends and enemies were both busily employed on the occasion: the former to remonstrate against such an imprudent step, the latter to spread abroad the most slanderous accounts of the Scottish queen.

There is no appearance that the queen knew of this bond which was signed on the 19th or rather the 20th of April, being a Sunday. "The day following, Bothwell began afar off to discover his intention to us" says the queen " but not finding our answer corresponding to his desire, he resolved with himself to follow forth his good fortune, and all respect laid aside, either to lose all in one hour, or to bring to pass what he had taken in hand." On the 21st she left Edinburgh; in order to see her son at Stirling.

On her return, the 24th, she was met by Bothwell with an armed force of 1000 horsemen, which he had always at command, as lord of the marches. He came up with the queen, slightly attended, at a bridge near Edinburgh: he seized the bridle of her horse, and led her off prisoner to the castle of Dunbar, having detained also a few of her courtiers, whom he afterwards dismissed, giving them to understand that all was done with the queen's consent.

It is urged by the enemies of Mary's fame, that she made no resistance, no outcry, on this occasion, and that therefore no violence was done her. By her friends, it is replied, that had she been willing, she would have made the greater shew of resistance, in order to have it believed that she was carried off by force.

The truth is, that we do not know with certainty how she behaved: but this we know, that all

resistance would have been vain, and of this she must have been sensible. As to her attendants being told it was with her own concurrence, we cannot suppose, had it been so, that such a concurrence would have been avowed.

Arrived in a place of surety, the villainous ravisher declared he would marry her in spite of all the world, in spite of herself. But first he endeavoured to sooth her mind by fair speeches. He pleaded necessity, he pleaded the force of love, the power of his enemies, he promised obedience and renounced all claims to sovereignty. Seeing all his suits and offers rejected, hearing himself reproached for his ingratitude and his rebellion, he produced the bond and recommendation of the lords in his favour.

Mary was in hopes that some of her loyal subjects would hasten to her succour, and by moderation she could gain time; but what was her astonishment at seeing the well known signature of her chief nobles, at finding herself sold into the hands of this villain by the consent of the states of her kingdom. Many things did she revolve in her mind, but found no way of escaping. Sequestered from the company of her servants, and others of whom she might ask counsel, she was left little space to meditate with herself, continually pressed with his importunity.

Thus situated, did she remain for the space of ten days, in the power of her ravisher; not a single arm lifted in her defence; not one faithful subject to enquire whether she were dead or alive.

What was a weak woman to do in such a situation? Can we wonder if at length, he partly extorted, and partly obtained her promise to take him to be her husband.

This

This extorted promise, however, would not do; he knew it to be null, as obtained by violence; he dreaded a change: he would hear of no delay. He informed the queen of the divorce which he was suing for in the ecclesiastical court from his wife; and never rested till by fear, force, and other *extraordinary* and *more unlawful* means he accomplished his villainous and horrible purpose*.

O Mary! O unhappy princess! if innocent—but thrice unhappy if guilty! Hadst thou perished with thy husband, then shouldst thou have been spared a life of misery and dishonour: then should thy fair fame have been handed down untarnished to after ages; but to have thy reputation butchered—to have thy honour blasted for ever—and yet to be doomed to feign forgiveness: to feign even love for an infamous old wretch, accursed by God, and abhorred by man: the murderer of thy husband and thy own ravisher: this is such an excess of indignity, such a calamity, that history never can produce its equal.

During the progress of these horrid transactions, Bothwell had obtained a divorce from a marriage contracted six months before with a sister of Huntly's cousin, in the fourth degree to himself. The countess on her part had also sued and obtained a like divorce in her favour. This once accomplished Bothwell thought it time to carry his captive to Edinburgh, where he lodged her under a strong

* One of queen Mary's modern advocates supposes these means more unlawful and more extraordinary than force—to have been love draughts, and another stupifying potions.

guard in the castle The banns were proclaimed, though reluctantly, by a minister, on receiving the queen's order. In a few days she was conducted to the court of session, where she declared herself disposed to forgive the outrage committed on her person, by carrying her against her will to Dunbar. She even proposed to raise the earl to new honours, and in consequence created him duke of Orkney.

It was then, and then only, that he brought her to the palace; but still kept her surrounded with an armed force, and with such friends as he could depend on, who continually urged on the marriage, till at last the queen signed the fatal contract, and on the following day, May 15, the ceremony was performed in the protestant manner only, without regarding the queen's conscientious attachment to her own religion.

Every thing thus bears evident marks of violence. After marriage we find the same *thraldom* still continued. Two hundred Arquebusiers watched every motion, nor admitted any one but at Bothwell's order.

His behaviour now became brutal beyond belief: the unhappy queen threatened to put an end to her life to be freed from his insulting tyranny.

One of the first public measures he forced from her was, a revocation of all permissions granted to individuals to use the old form of religion: yet modern historians will always consider Bothwell as the head of the popish party.

Bothwell's ambition having answered all the views of the confederates, it was now resolved to ruin him. An association was formed immediately after the marriage for this purpose.

To avenge the king's murder, to preserve the life

life of the prince were the specious pretexts held out. Bothwell saw the storm gathering; he procured a proclamation on the 28th of May, ordering many of the queen's tenants to attend him armed at Melross, in order to suppress robberies and rebellion on the borders. This afforded a new pretext that the life of the prince was in danger.

On the first of June the queen issued a new declaration of her regard for the laws, and for the safety of her son. The confederate lords were however beforehand with Bothwell; and he found it necessary to retire in haste from Edinburgh. He brought away the queen to the castle of Borthwic, on the 6th or 7th of June.

He himself went in pursuit of lord Hume, but finding him too strong, he retreated to Borthwic, whither he was followed by the enemy. Meanwhile the rebel lords had entered Edinburgh, and from thence had also hastened to Borthwic.

Thus pressed, Bothwell contrived to escape to Dunbar with the queen disguised in men's cloaths. Having missed their aim, the lords returned to Edinburgh, where they issued a proclamation inviting every true Scot to join their standard.

It is doubtful, however, if they could long have kept together; but the rashness of Bothwell extricated them from any difficulty: having assembled in haste a few thousand men, he imprudently left his strong hold at Dunbar and marched towards the enemy.

The lords proceeded with their forces to Gladsmuir, where they found Bothwell posted on advantageous ground. A proclamation in the queen's name was read at the head of her army; but

but produced no good effect: the French ambassador negotiated between the two armies to as little purpose.

Many with the queen, informed of the indignities put upon her by Bothwell since their marriage, and having seen her shed daily abundance of tears, were of opinion that she had intelligence with the lords: she on her part saw the inclinations of her people, and determined to dismiss the wretch who had been the cause of her ruin.

With this view she, demanded a parley with Kirkaldy, a brave and generous man; and having his promise of submission and obedience to her authority on the part of the lords, she sent him with an order to Bothwell to depart, which he accordingly did, in the sight of both armies. We find here the zeal of the lords to avenge the death of the king, strangely cooled: not one attempt is made to secure the murderer; those concerned in that very murder, such as Morton, could scarce be expected to act otherwise.

As soon as Bothwell retired, which he did without a farewell, the queen gave her hand to kiss to the laird of Grange, and was conducted on the above conditions to the confederate army; she was received with great respect, and Morton, in the name of the rest, promised her all obedience.

But when conducted to Edinburgh, she was insulted by the populace: a bloody standard was carried before her representing the death of king Henry and her child calling to heaven for vengeanc, She was lodged in the house of the provost; and all that her own intreaties or the interference

ference of her friends could obtain was, that she should be conducted next day to the palace, with a strong guard, but without any authority.

The confederates had gone too far now to recede. Apprehensive lest the people, softened into compassion, should interfere, it was resolved to confine the queen in an island of Lochlevin, and in order to humble her the more, she was delivered into the custody of her mortal enemy, the mother of Murray, who pretended to have been the lawful wife of her father.

Meanwhile they assumed all the sovereign power under the name of the lords of the secret council. Their proceedings could not but disgust many: several nobles who had been of their party, and others who had never joined them, formed a very respectable league against them; but, destitute of means and of energy, they did nothing effectual.

On the first intelligence of these affairs, the court of France dispatched an ambassador to consult with the queen about the most proper methods for giving her relief; but the lords denied him all access to their captive, and he was obliged to return.

Queen Elizabeth on her part, whose policy it was to keep up factions but to prevent the one from crushing the other, instructed her envoy to threaten the lords with her anger if they did not liberate the queen, and to assure Mary of her sympathy and all her assistance: this envoy was also debarred access to the royal captive.

The confederates at last agreed to obtain from Mary, a free or forced resignation of the crown: to

to proclaim the prince, James, king, and the earl of Murray regent, during his minority.

Lindsay, the most brutal fellow among them, was pitched on as the most proper person to present these articles to the queen. She had been secretly advised by her friends and particularly by Throgmorton to accede to these terms, because compulsion would invalidate the whole.

Lindsay proceeded accordingly to execute his commission. He presented the papers for her signature, and assured her of instant death if she did not comply. Mary, bathed in tears, and solemnly protesting against the force offered her, signed the fatal deed, without reading one syllable.

The queen's forced resignation was no sooner obtained, than the coronation of the young prince her son was determined on. This was accordingly performed at Stirling on the 29th of July.

About the same time Murray returned, but before he would accept of the regency he visited his royal sister, who received him with cordial affection, and conjured him to befriend her. He replied with the bitterest reproaches, and assured her it would be a difficult matter to save her life, but impossible to set her at liberty. On this, the queen, considering him as her deliverer from certain death, conjured him, as he pretends, to accept of the regency.

But all this while, like the confederates, we have forgot to avenge the king's murder, the grand original cause of the war. Like them, we have allowed the guilty Bothwell to walk off the field in broad day, without once enquiring which way he went.

The

The confederates were then better employed. It was not till ten days after his departure that they bethought themselves to summon his castle at Dunbar to surrender, and set a reward of one thousand crowns on his head. It is not unlikely that he wandered northward to the bishop of Murray's, from thence to the Orkneys, and lastly to Denmark or Norway, where he died, declaring with his last breath the innocence of the queen, and his own guilt in the king's murder.

After the queen's imprisonment several suspected persons were taken up, and being put to the torture, were executed. History is in the dark as to the nature of their evidence, but all agree that no discovery of importance was made.

When the regent was once in full possession of his power, he treated with sir James Balfour for the surrender of Edinburgh castle. The first article of the stipulation was a remission to Balfour for *art* and *part* in the king's murder, the others were gifts, hereditary pensions, and a ready sum of money. This was avenging with a vengeance!

It is true that in January following four persons were executed, but Mary's enemies avow, "that they declared at all times the queen their sovereign to be innocent thereof:" on the contrary, "they took God to record," says Lesley, "at the time of their death, that this murder was committed by the council, invention, and drift of Murray and his friends." * Previous to these last execu-

* The prisoners were promised pardon, says Lesley, if they would accuse the queen, yet one and all of them acquitted her.

tions

tions a parliament had been held by the regent, in which every thing done against the queen was declared to be lawful and loyal, and she was pronounced conscious of the murder of Darnley, from *letters* written with her own hand. These are the famous letters, of which so much has been said *pro* and *con*. We shall have occasion to revert to them hereafter; meanwhile, we have to remark, that they had never before been produced, except in the privy council immediately preceding this parliament. Is it in human nature, or is it peculiar to Scotland, that popularity should cease as soon as its object begins to have full power? Murray, forfeited the favour of the public when he became regent. His arrogance soon lost what his address had gained. A considerable party was formed against him in favour of the queen. Of these Chatelherault, a duke of blood royal, was the head, as being better entitled to the regency than the *bastard*.

The queen had gained in her prison the favour of George Douglas, a young man who was brother to her keeper. By his means she made her escape in a boat to the opposite shore, and was there joyfully received by lord Seton and sir James Hamilton, who, presenting her with a horse, conducted her with all haste to Hamilton, where her friends were assembled.

On the news of her escape, they flocked to her standard, and in a few days she saw herself surrounded by her nobles and by six thousand armed men. Several shrunk away from the regent's court to join her, and prosperity seemed once more to shine upon her,

The

The regent was then at Glasgow, holding a court of justice. A message from his sovereign offered him full pardon if he would resign and submit. He thought it prudent to negotiate; but finding himself considerably reinforced, he took the field, to cut off the march of the royal army to Dumbarton castle, which still held out for the queen, and where they intended to lodge her majesty as in a place of security.

The armies met at a place called Langside, on the Dumbarton road. Murray had occupied the eminence, but the queen's little army, regardless of difficulty, made a bold attack. The Hamiltons rushed with impetuosity on the enemy; but before the rest of the troops could second them, exposed to the fire of the musketry, they fell into disorder. In a very short time the royal forces were completely routed; but Murray's officers prevented bloodshed as much as they could, and stopped the pursuit.

The hopes of Mary now vanished for ever. She no sooner saw the fate of the day decided than she rode off at full speed with lord Herries, and never halted till she reached Dundrennan, an abbey on the coast of Galloway. Here a consultation was held, and Mary's determination, against lord Herries and all her friends' advice, was to throw herself into the arms of Elizabeth.

Lord Herries was obliged to write to the governor of Carlisle, to know the reception the queen of Scots might expect; but Mary was too impatient to wait for a reply. At a little creek near the abbey, ever since called Port-Mary, she embarked with twenty attendants, and landed at the

opposite

opposite coast of Cumberland, at a place now known by the name of Mary-Port.

Before we enter into the history of Mary's sufferings and death in England, let us take a retrospect of Elizabeth's conduct towards her while on the throne.

It cannot be doubted but Elizabeth was animated from the beginning with the blackest jealousy and hatred towards Mary: she took a great share—she was, in fact, at the bottom of all the plots laid against her. We have seen Elizabeth sending money and forces to aid the reformers against the queen regent, and forcing a shameful treaty from the Scots after her death. We have seen her refuse Mary a safe conduct to her kingdom, and even attempt to intercept her passage.

Continually did Elizabeth insist on the ratification of this treaty, and as continually did she refuse to acknowledge Mary's right to her succession. She left no stone unturned to prevent the marriage of her cousin, and when she did marry, the earl of Murray was encouraged by Elizabeth to take up arms against his sister and sovereign. When worsted, he was received by her, and she interceded for him.

With Murray, Elizabeth was deeply concerned in the murder of Rizzio. She was no less so in that of the king. When the rebels imprisoned their queen, she pretended to be against their proceedings, but they knew her mind better than her cousin did.

Mary was led to believe, that her cause being the cause of sovereigns, Elizabeth could not fail to take her by the hand. She had been repeatedly

invited

invited to repair to England, with the most positive assurances of being assisted.

As soon as she arrived at Workington, where she was received with great respect, Mary wrote to London, offering to visit her cousin, and imploring her protection against her rebellious subjects. Elizabeth declined receiving the profered visit till such time as her cousin should clear herself of the crimes laid to her charge. Meanwhile she ordered her to be well attended, and promised to interest herself in her behalf.

Murray was not idle all this time in Scotland. He soon rendered himself master of several forts, laid waste the lands of his enemies, and was carrying every thing before him, when he received an angry message from Elizabeth, reproaching him with rebellion against his sovereign, and commanding him to clear himself by a writing under his hand. Along with these dispatches were private instructions of a very different nature. The regent immediately sent Wood, his secretary, to London, declaring himself ready to submit his cause to the judgment of Elizabeth, and offering to prove his sister guilty of the king's murder.

Queen Mary was removed to Bolton, where she was closely watched. She was told no assistance could be given her, unless she submitted her cause to a legal trial; and though a sovereign, she was reduced to agree to the decision of Elizabeth and of an English court in a quarrel between her and her subjects.

After many difficulties, a day was appointed for both parties to send commissioners to York.

The queen's friends had assembled meanwhile in considerable force, and had written to England,

 imploring

imploring the protection of Elizabeth for the restoration of their queen. The regent not finding himself in a condition to attack them, Elizabeth, at his request, prevailed on queen Mary to order her friends to quit the field, provided Murray's forces did the same.

This done, the regent held a parliament, where some of the leaders among his opponents were forfeited. They complained bitterly of the treachery and precipitation of this measure, before their queen's cause could be tried in England; and Elizabeth, pretending to be incensed at his proceedings against them, threatened to restore Mary by force of arms if he did not appear to make good his charges against her. This did not prevent him from making himself master of Annandale, Nithsdale, and a part of Galloway.

He then, however reluctantly, made out a commission for himself and others, under the great seal, to appear at York or elsewhere, in order to justify their conduct to their queen in the presence of English commissioners. These were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler. On the part of queen Mary there appeared Lesley, bishop of Ross, lords Boyd, Herries, and others.

The English commissioners began by demanding of Murray to produce his commission. This he at last complied with. The previous formalities being gone through, queen Mary's agents began by charging Murray and his friends with rebellious and treasonable practices, calling upon them to prove their allegations against the queen.

But here a difficulty occurred, which was soon to put an end to the conference. Murray, before he

he would answer the accusation brought against him, or venture to arraign the queen, desired to know what assurance he had of not being exposed to her resentment, in case he should make good his charge. This question it was found necessary to refer to Elizabeth herself: meanwhile he agreed to shew in private to the English commissioner certain letters and sonnets, said to be written by Mary to Bothwell. The story of these letters is so replete with absurdities, that we do not hesitate to pronounce them forgeries. They were never produced in court: Mary's commissioners could never obtain a sight of them; and their whole authority rests on the affirmation of her enemies. Queen Elizabeth finding Murray determined not to bring forward the charges she expected, removed the conferences from York to London, to which both parties easily consented.

Here Murray was politely and respectfully received, while his sovereign was held in captivity, and treated as a criminal. Mary did not fail to resent this proceeding, and, with becoming spirit, revoked all powers given to her commissioners. She was by this time removed to Tutbury castle, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury.

At London, Murray produced at length the casket of letters, he and his associates swearing to their authenticity. Elizabeth had now what she wanted: she called on Mary's agents to disprove these letters, but always refused a sight of them. Copies of the letters were left with queen Elizabeth: the originals were returned to Murray, who, with them, departed to Scotland; and Mary was

was debarred a sight of both copies and originals for ever. She was therefore incapable of answering.

On the dismission of Murray and his associates, it was declared in council "that nothing had been produced against them that could impair their honour or allegiance."

In like manner it was declared "that there had been nothing sufficiently produced or shewn by them against the queen their sovereign, whereby the queen of England could conceive or take any evil opinion of the queen, her good sister, for any thing yet seen."

This is the amplest vindication of Mary that could possibly be given. It comes from her enemy, her political and personal enemy, after she had heard all the charge—after she had seen all the pretended evidences of adultery and murder against her. Thus ended the conference, by displaying the innocence of Mary, the duplicity of Elizabeth, and the villainy of Murray's faction.—The latter returned to enjoy a short triumph in Scotland. Elizabeth's generosity, after defraying the expences of his journey, rewarded him with 5000l. to support his dignity. All this while Murray was playing a double game, and had almost outwitted the deep policy of Elizabeth. She at last discovered that he was concerned in the plot for the marriage of queen Mary with the duke of Norfolk.

The regent being betrayed, was obliged to give all the information he could concerning that affair; and in order to appease Elizabeth, he resolved to sacrifice his friend Maitland. He accordingly caused him to be accused of the king's murder, and

and imprisoned: but Kircaldy, then master of Edinburgh castle, rescued him. Sir James Balfour, formerly governor of Edinburgh castle, was also committed with his brother.

Meanwhile the duke of Norfolk had been confined in England; and the earl of Shrewsbury not being considered as severe enough, the earl of Huntingdon was joined to him in his office of keeper of the royal captive.

Thus straitened, no wonder if Mary was mediating her escape: but out of delicacy to the duke of Norfolk she would not accept of the service of Dacres, who offered to conduct her safe toScotland. The duke prevented her also from accepting the terms proposed by the earl of Northumberland for her escape; at which she was so much offended, that she treated with the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, without the participation of Norfolk.

Soon after the imprisonment of the latter, the two earls broke out in open rebellion; but disappointed of the expected assistance from abroad, they both fled to Scotland, where Northumberland was apprehended and confined, while Westmoreland was protected by the queen's party. The severities exercised against the rebels produced another revolt under Dacres, which ended with as little success.

In Scotland the regent knew not how to proceed with Maitland, who eagerly pressed on his trial. Kircaldy and lord Herries had insisted on the trial of Morton and Archibald Douglas; but failing in that, they had offered to fight them both. The people dissatisfied with delays, assembled in

such numbers that the regent thought proper to retire to Stirling.

But the measure of his crimes was now full. Hamilton, of Bothwelhaugh, one of the prisoners who escaped after the battle of Langside, had met with the most barbarous treatment. His lands had been forfeited, and his wife, an heiress, while living on her own estate, was turned out naked in a cold dark night; before day-break she had utterly lost her senses, which she never after recovered. To be avenged of this barbarity, Hamilton had sworn the death of the regent. He accordingly posted himself at a window looking to the high-street of Linlithgow, and shot him through the body as he was passing.

A. D. 1570. The deed was no sooner done than the assassin escaped by a back way, and mounting his horse rode off without being pursued.

Thus fell the ambitious, ungrateful, and unnatural Murray; a man of superior talents and address; crafty, cool, and courageous; his virtues were spurious as his birth; liberal, courteous, friendly, honourable, as long as vice was not useful to advance his ends; but unjust, cruel, bloodthirsty, whenever his interest required it. Even Mary, in her prison, lamented the fate of her unworthy brother, who was thus suddenly cut off, without one moment to repent of his crimes, and to prepare his sad account.

Elizabeth about this time was treating of surrendering Mary to her disaffected subjects. Lesley, bishop of Ross, endeavoured to prevent so fatal a measure, by interesting foreign ambassadors:

dors: but he was committed to custody notwithstanding his official character, as ambassador. He had been again engaged in the affair of the duke of Norfolk, who on promising to renounce all thoughts of the marriage, had been released. New projects, however, had been discovered, and the duke was again arrested, tried, and executed.

At the death of Murray, the affairs of Scotland fell into new disorders. The queen had appointed lieutenants to act in her name; and the intrigues of Elizabeth promoted Lenox, the king's grandfather, to the regency. Morton indeed wanted nothing but the name, for all matters were directed by him. The king's men and the queen's men divided the whole country, and were nearly equal in power.

Lenox was holding a parliament in Stirling, to which several of the queen's friends, wearied with the contest, had repaired. But Kircaldy caused the regent to be attacked unexpectedly by a chosen band, under the command of Huntley; and a smart engagement ensued in the city. Marr sallied from the castle to defend the town, the citizens joined him, and the assailants failed in their attempt. The regent Lenox fell in the affray.

His place was filled by the earl of Marre, who endeavoured to reconcile the contending parties, and probably would have succeeded but for the ambition of Morton; disheartened and grieved at this disappointment, he was soon seized with a distemper of which he died.

Morton succeeded to the office, and now laboured to bring about peace as earnestly as he

had

had promoted war before. Mary's friends not acting in concert, he treated with Chatelherault and Huntly separately, and resolved to reduce Maitland and Kirkaldy, who were masters of Edinburgh castle. Elizabeth sent Drury to his assistance.

A regular siege was carried on: for thirty-three days did the cannons batter at the fortification, yet would not the brave Kirkaldy capitulate till the garrison mutinied. He surrendered himself then to Drury, who promised that he should be favourably treated. Notwithstanding this promise, Morton insisted on their punishment, and Elizabeth caused them to be given up to the regent, who caused Kirkaldy and his brother to be hanged. Maitland prevented his own execution by suicide.

Such acts of severity rendered his administration generally odious. A cabal was formed to make the young king assume the reins of government. Erskine, who had the keeping of his person, admitted the nobles into Stirling castle, and letters were issued by the king, calling a council of his nobles.

The meeting was numerously attended. The king was advised to deprive the regent of his office: but he obtained an act of approbation of all he had done, and a pardon for all past offences, crimes, and treasons. The nobles bound themselves to procure the ratification of this act from the first parliament.

A council of twelve peers were appointed to assist the king: but their power and popularity was of no long standing. Morton by his intrigues

got

got again his seat at the council board, and matters went on by his direction as before.

The time of the meeting of parliament was now approaching: but Morton thought it more safe to summon the members to Stirling castle. The earl of Athol and others represented this as holding the king a prisoner. Both parties took arms, but they soon came to an agreement.

Morton gave an entertainment on the occasion, at which Athol the chancellor was taken ill, and died in a few days, not without suspicions of his being poisoned.

Queen Mary all this while was employed in endless treaties and negotiations, which led to nothing.

The English parliament made it a subject of discussion, and proposed to enact it to be high treason for any person to treat of the succession to the crown in the life-time of the queen of England.

Mary sent to her son some presents, with a letter addressed to the prince of Scotland; but Morton would not allow the messenger to be presented. His triumph was now near its end; James had two new favourites, the one a relation of his own, being son to a second brother of the earl of Lenox, who was raised to the title of duke of Lenox: the other, Stuart of Ochiltree, afterwards earl of Arran. These soon undermined Morton, notwithstanding the support of queen Elizabeth. On a day appointed, captain Stuart presented himself before the privy council, and falling on his knees before the king, accused Morton of being one of those who conspired the death of his majesty's father: at the same time he accused

Archibald

Archibald Douglas, whom Morton had created lord of session. The earl who was present, protested and offered to convince his majesty, that he was innocent. Both parties being removed, the king ordered the commitment of Douglas; but aware of his danger, he fled to England. Morton was conveyed under a strong guard to Edinburgh castle, and afterwards to Dumbarton. Elizabeth, by her ambassador Randolph, insisted with both king and parliament, that the prisoner should be liberated, but in vain.

Such an interference excited the indignation it deserved. Randolph then had recourse to other means, and by offers of men and money from England he engaged several noblemen into a confederacy against their sovereign, in order to procure the enlargement of Morton and the banishment of Lenox. But nothing would prevail. His intrigues were discovered and defeated: the confederates were ready to forsake him, and to join Lenox. The only step remaining for Elizabeth to save her creature Morton, was to announce an English army on the borders. This expedient was also resorted to, but still in vain; the king put his realm in a posture of defence, and ordered his vassals to hold themselves in readiness to attend the royal standard. Whence all this zeal on the part of Elizabeth? We are now in possession of her secret. Morton was one of Mary's accusers: he was chief among them. It was he who held first and last the originals of the pretended letters to Bothwell. What if in his confession he should declare her innocent, as the unhappy Bothwell had done in his last moments. This Elizabeth dreaded, and not without cause; for

for when this persecutor of Mary's came to the scaffold, "forced by a remorse of conscience, he did her justice, and confirmed the words of his dying adversary *."

But this much by anticipation. Morton's trial came on. He objected in vain to three of the jurymen: they pledged themselves upon oath from all personal malice, and his objections were over-ruled. The earl of Argyle, one of the jury, so far from being his enemy, had very lately engaged in the confederacy for his enlargement. From several evidences, and from papers subscribed with his own hand, it appeared that he was guilty. He heard this verdict with great agitation and surprize; but when the sentence was pronounced, he behaved with intrepidity. The ministers who attended him have left a lame account of his confession. He acknowledged that he knew of the murder, and was solicited to join in it: he had given his countenance and friendship to Douglas, though he knew that he had actually assisted in its execution. This was the man he afterwards had created lord of session. A cotemporary historian in England had a copy of this confession, or rather apology, but says, "that he omitted part of it out of tenderness to great persons then living." This hint procured an order from the English court for cancelling that leaf of his work among others. Queen Elizabeth by this proceeding stands condemned as one of the great persons accused by Morton; and thus we discover another powerful motive of her attempts to prevent his trial.

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* Crawfurd, 54.

James was so much appeased by such an ample confession, that he mitigated the sentence of hanging and quartering, and ordered the earl to be beheaded, and afterwards interred.

The young king was now under the influence of his two favourites, who instilled into his mind extravagant notions of the royal prerogative, and exercised with the utmost wantonness an uncontrouled power. Under such circumstances the nation could not enjoy tranquillity. The attention of the clergy was engaged in forming a system of discipline, to which they endeavoured to procure a legal sanction. The abolition of the episcopal order was another object they kept in view. An act of the general assembly declared the office of bishops to have no foundation in the word of God, and required, under pain of excommunication, all who held that office to resign. In this decree the court did not acquiesce. The bishops owed their promotion to the king, and were the firm support of the throne. There happened a vacancy soon after in the see of Glasgow. One Montgomery accepted the office of archbishop. The whole church was in an unproar. Neither gentle nor rigorous measures could stop the prosecution against him. A herald, in the king's name, commanded the assembly to stop their proceedings; but they were not to be intimidated: the sentence of excommunication was pronounced and published in all the churches in the kingdom. James, in order to check this turbulent spirit, prohibited one of the popular ministers from preaching, and banished him from the capital.

Elizabeth, who during the four regents had the entire direction of the affairs of Scotland, was ready

ready to countenance any attempt for the ruin of the favourites, who never consulted her political views in the affairs of government. Under her protection a conspiracy was formed, to hold James in captivity and overthrow Lenox and Arran. The chief actors in this conspiracy were the earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Glencairn. The king set out for Athol to take the amusement of hunting and hawking, and they were careful to accompany him. The duke of Lenox and the earl of Arran were both absent. The members of the privy council were preparing to hold justice-courts in different parts of the kingdom. James, on his return towards Edinburgh, was invited by the earl of Gowrie to Ruthven castle, which lay in his way; and suspecting no danger, went thither in hopes of further sport. Here he found himself in the hands of the conspirators, who forcibly detained him, notwithstanding his entreaties and expostulations. Such of his followers as were suspected by the conspirators were dismissed, and none but their party allowed to have access to him. The two favourites were thrown into consternation at an event so unexpected. They endeavoured, but without success, to excite the people to take arms, in order to rescue their sovereign. Arran rode towards Ruthven castle, but was confined as a prisoner, without being admitted into the king's presence. A proclamation appeared in the king's name, declaring him at full liberty, and forbidding any attempts for his rescue. The earl of Lenox was commanded to leave Scotland, and Angus, the nephew of Morton, was permitted to return from exile, where he had been ever since the death of his uncle. Lenox, whose gentle qualities had

procured him many friends, delayed his departure, in expectation that fortune might once more raise him to his former favour. At length he began his journey. Soon after his arrival in France he fevered and died. In his last moments he discovered a firm adherence to the protestant faith. Meanwhile the conspirators published a long declaration, containing the motives which had induced them to enter into so irregular a step. They obliged the king to grant them a remission in the most ample form, and the assembly of the church declared that they had done good, and acceptable service to God, their sovereign, and country, requiring all sincere protestants to concur with them: a convention of the states passed an act to the same effect. When intelligence of her son's captivity reached Mary in the prison in which she was confined, she wrote immediately in all the anguish of a mother's heart to Elizabeth, complaining in bitter terms of the rigour with which she herself had been treated, and beseeching her not to abandon her son to the mercy of his rebellious subjects.

All her remonstrances procured no mitigation in her own treatment, nor any interposition in favour of the king. His own vigilance at last effected his escape. Under pretence of paying a visit to his grand uncle the earl of March, James was permitted to go to St. Andrews. Pretending there a curiosity to see the castle, he was no sooner admitted than he ordered the gates to be shut. Next morning the earls of Argyle, Huntly, and others, to whom the secret had been communicated, entered the town with their followers; and when Mar with other leaders of the faction

appeared

appeared in arms, it was too late to recover possession of the king's person. Great was the youthful triumph of James at his escape, yet he resolved by the advice of his wisest counsellors to act with the greatest moderation. He invited the conspirators to accept his mercy, and called upon his people to bury their contentions in oblivion. As a proof his sincerity, he visited the earl of Gowrie at Ruthven castle, and assured him of a full pardon. Instead of availing themselves of the clemency and gentleness of their sovereign, the conspirators continued to brave his authority. They relied on the speedy interference of Elizabeth, of which they received assurances from her ambassador. The earl of Arran resumed his place of prime minister. The conspirators took a pretence from this to doubt of the king's sincerity, and all except the earl of Angus refused to surrender themselves. Accordingly, they were declared rebels, and the subjects were commanded to keep themselves in readiness to take the field.

Elizabeth, who had all along protected the conspirators, remonstrated against these proceedings; but James replied with the dignity of a sovereign, and obliged the rebels to retire into foreign parts. A convention of the states declared them guilty of high treason, appointed the late act in their favour to be expunged, and engaged to support the king in prosecuting them according to law. The church zealously defended the cause of the proscribed lords. Melvil, who by his learning and zeal was considered as head of the popular preachers, encouraged the people to seek redress by the sword. When carried before the council, he formally disowned the civil power,

and

and appealed to the scriptures for his authority. The king, jealous to excess of his prerogative, resolved to punish him with rigour; but Melvil avoided his rage by flying into England. The court, after having defeated a fresh attempt of the conspirators, proceeded to humble the exorbitant power of the clergy. It was enacted by parliament, that they who refused to acknowledge the authority of the privy council should be guilty of high treason. To hold assemblies without the king's permission, to declaim against the king in public or private, were made capital crimes. The alarm at these laws was universal; the church pronounced them null and void, and the whole clergy fled to Elizabeth for protection.

They found themselves egregiously mistaken. Arran and Elizabeth were now leagued together by the ties of policy and interest. She was at that time apprehensive of the Spanish invasion, and had courted the Scottish ministry, in order to recover her influence over the affairs of that country. The venal minister assured her ambassador of his attachment to her interest. The consequences of this new friendship was the overthrow of the rebel lords; their property was confiscated, and the clergy enjoined to subscribe to the obnoxious laws.

The unfortunate Mary was still languishing in her confinement. It was a matter of form to amuse her year after year with fruitless negotiations for the recovery of her liberty; but these ended always in bitter disappointment and mortification. To complete her misery, her own son, tutored by Elizabeth, wrote her a harsh and undutiful letter, in which he expressly refused to acknowledge

acknowledge her to be queen of Scotland, or to consider her affairs any way connected with his. This cruel requital overwhelmed Mary with sorrow and despair. "Was it for this," exclaimed she, "that I have endured so much to preserve for him the inheritance to which I have a just right? Whatever he either enjoys or expects, he received it from me. From him I never received assistance, supply, or benefit of any kind. Let not my allies treat him any longer as a king; he holds not that dignity by my consent; and if a speedy repentance does not appease my just resentment, I will load him with a parent's curse, and surrender my crown with all my pretensions to one who will receive them with gratitude and defend them with vigour." Another measure which throws a foul stain on the filial piety of James is the acquittal of the murderer of his father. Archibald Douglas, by the confession of Morton and of his own servant Binning, had not only been in the conspiracy, but had actually assisted at the execution of the plot. When the earl of Morton was imprisoned, he accordingly fled into England, where he was protected by Elizabeth. Through her intercession he now obtained licence to return into Scotland, and after undergoing a mock trial, was not only acquitted, but received into favour, and sent back to Elizabeth with the character of ambassador. It appears by these measures how much James was under the controul of the English court, and accounts for his unnatural neglect of his captive mother.

Notwithstanding the temporary agreement between Arran and Elizabeth, he was secretly carrying

rying on a correspondence with Mary and her allies. Elizabeth resolved his overthrow and the restoration of the exiled lords. She instructed her agent to endeavour to seize the king, and to carry him by force into England; but his attempt was defeated, and he was obliged to depart. Meanwhile the banished lords entered Scotland. Wherever they came they were welcomed as the deliverers of their country. At the head of ten thousand men they advanced to Stirling. The king was not in a condition to meet them in the field. Terms of accommodation must be listened to. The lords obtained a full pardon of all the offences they had committed, and the possession of the principal forts by way of security. The earl of Arran was deprived of all his honours, and his party were removed from the king's presence. A treaty of alliance was concluded with England, and James was gratified with a pension of five thousand pounds, and with a declaration in favour of his succession to Elizabeth.

There was nothing wanting to crown the ambition of the queen of England but the death of Mary. Whatever might be undertaken against her, on the part of her son, no interference was to be dreaded. Foreign princes might negotiate, might intercede, might even threaten, but they had shewn Elizabeth and the world that they would proceed no further. It was only necessary, in order to save appearances, to find out some specious pretence, and this could not long be wanting. On occasion of some conspiracies against the life of Elizabeth, an act had been passed, plainly levelled against queen Mary, by which, for every rebellion raised in her favour, she be-

came

came accountable with her life; books were dispersed to persuade the nation that her death was not only a necessary, but a just measure. Meanwhile she was treated with every indignity, that could provoke her to have recourse to violent means.

The castle in which she resided, was converted into a common prison; a young man, suspected of popery, was confined there, and treated under her eye with such rigour, that he died of the ill usage. Most of her servants were dismissed and two ruinous rooms were allotted for her use, scarcely habitable on account of the cold.

Babington's conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth, belongs properly to the history of England. He and his accomplices were found guilty and executed. But Elizabeth had determined to involve the queen of Scots as an associate in their guilt: and thus to furnish a pretence for executing against her the last act of severity and vengeance.

Mary was abruptly removed to Fotheringay castle, and all her papers seized and carried off to London.

Commissioners were dispatched, empowered to bring her to a trial. The lord Burleigh, with a number of the English nobles, composed the court. They summoned her before their tribunal, but she disclaimed their jurisdiction; while she solemnly asserted her innocence. It was suggested to her, that by refusing to plead, she would expose herself to the sentence of the law against contumacy, and injure her own reputation.

The trial at last begun; but no witnesses appeared; copies, and no originals, of supposed letters

letters were produced, and even they contained nothing criminal. The commissioners having heard her magnanimous defence, adjourned the court to the star chamber in Westminster: two perjured secretaries appeared there, and deponed against their sovereign. On their testimony, the court gave their verdict, that Mary was accessary to the conspiracy, and guilty of having imagined divers matters tending to the death of Elizabeth. An English parliament, unworthy of the name, thirsted after the blood of the unfortunate princess, and petitioned for the publication and the immediate execution of the inhuman sentence.*

The answer to this petition was worthy of Elizabeth. But she wanted to be farther importuned, and on the second application, she replied, " If I should say unto you, that I mean not to grant your petition, by my faith I should say unto you more than perhaps I mean. And if I should say unto you, that I mean to grant your petition, then I should tell you more than it is fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you an answer answerless."

Mary received the tidings not only without fear, but with expressions of triumph. When

* " We cannot find," says the petition, " that there is any possible means to provide for your majesty's safety but by the execution of the said queen ; *the neglecting whereof may procure the heavy displeasure of Almightye God, &c.* It was moved that the house should go to prayer, to implore God that he would put it into Elizabeth's heart to murder Mary. Mr. Treasurer liked well the motion, and shewed that fit prayers for that purpose, are already in print, and already in that house."

stripped

stripped of every mark of royalty, she only replied, " In despite of your sovereign, and her subservient judges, I will die a queen." She wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, wherein she requests, that her body may be sent to France to repose in the same tomb with her mother. Still however, Elizabeth hesitated, and was afraid to strike the fatal blow. The ambassadors of France and of Scotland, intreated, remonstrated, threatened. She could have wished her enemy cut off by assassination, that she might reap the benefit, without sharing the odium of the crime. She could find none so base, none so rash, as to perpetrate the deed, and stand to the consequences.

At last the warrant was signed for the execution. Two earls brought it to the royal captive. She entreated, with particular earnestness, for one favour, which had been refused her, during a captivity of nineteen years. This was, that she might enjoy, in her last moments, the consolations of her religion. She entreated in vain.

Next day she ascended the scaffold, where she behaved with piety and fortitude. " Weep not, good Melvil," said she, to the master of her household; " this is a day of rejoicing; thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings, as she long expected. Bear witness that I die constant in my religion, firm in my fidelity towards Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son, tell him I have done nothing injurious to his honour, to his kingdom, or to his rights. And may God forgive all those who have thirsted, without cause, for my blood."

Then

Then, with an audible voice, she recommended unto God the afflicted state of the church, prayed for the prosperity of her son, and for a long life, and peaceable reign to queen Elizabeth. She declared that she hoped for mercy, only through the death of Christ, at the foot of whose image, she now willingly shed her blood.

With calm and undaunted fortitude she laid her neck on the block, and her head was severed from her body, by two strokes of the executioner.

Such was the tragical death of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France; a princess alike unequalled in beauty, in accomplishments, and in misfortune.

CHAP. IX.

From the Murder of Mary, to the Death of King James.

THE good queen Elizabeth, while she was devoting the mother to destruction, amused the son with promises and fair speeches. But when the blow was struck, she pretended great affliction, and blamed her secretary, Davison, for having sent off the warrant without her order.

Whatever were the real sentiments of James, in a matter which so nearly concerned his honour, we do not find that he took any step to avenge the death of his mother. He threatened, indeed, an invasion of England, but his own indolent disposition, together with the advice of his counsellors, prevented all the effects of his just resent-

ment

ment. Mary's death proved fatal to none but Gray, his ambassador in England, in consequence of the treachery with which he had contributed to the failure of his embassy. He was condemned to perpetual banishment, a punishment very unequal to his crimes.

Elizabeth wreaked her vengeance on the head of Davison, whom she brought to trial, for having forwarded the warrant for execution, contrary to her orders. Notwithstanding the clearest evidence of his innocence; he was condemned to pay a considerable fine, and to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure.

All the rights and pretensions of Mary, now devolved on her son. Catholics concurred with protestants in looking up to him as the presumptive heir of England, and the rightful sovereign of Scotland.

Is was almost equally his interest to gain the favour of both parties; yet he could scarcely make himself acceptable to one without alarming the jealousy of the other. In this critical situation, the young monarch contrived with tolerable address to adhere to the protestant cause, whilst he soothed the catholics by a tenderness for their interest *. From time to time he checked the career of the presbyterian clergy, who

* It was a favourite project with king James, to reunite the protestant and catholic churches. He had formed a plan for tolerating the roman catholics, on condition that they should disclaim all temporal power in the pope, with certain other odious doctrines imputed to their church. The form of declaration, which catholics now take, is nearly word for word that penned by this theological king.

still arrogated to themselves the right of censuring his government, while he laboured for the conversion of catholics by a display of his polemical erudition.

The Scots were desirous that their king should be united in marriage to some princess. Elizabeth endeavoured to thwart his views. The eldest princess of Denmark was by her intrigues given to the duke of Brunswic. James next paid his addresses to her sister, and this match was concluded. While storms delayed the arrival of the royal bride, James, impatient of delay, sailed to Norway, celebrated his nuptials, and after passing some months in festivity and joy, returned in safety with his queen.

The pacific disposition and the clemency of James towards offenders multiplied crimes of all kinds, and encouraged such acts of violence as brought his government under contempt. All was fomented by the intrigues of Elizabeth's agents, who still strove to retain James weak and mean by holding his affairs continually embroiled.

The catholic conspiracies, which have disgraced this reign so much, were encouraged by the Spanish interest, and the hopes of a Spanish invasion. The solemn league and covenant was framed for the extirpation of popery, and for the protection of the country against any foreign attack. The king, the clergy, and the nation at large, joined in this holy confederacy.

At length James proved successful in his exertions against the turbulent part of his clergy. They had wrested from him an act which invested the general assembly with more than papal power. By it every person, whom the assembly should excom-

excommunicate, was outlawed. The king observed that he was no better than a cypher, so long as they could arbitrarily exercise the powers of excommunication against his subjects for what they had done in their civil capacities. At last personal violence was offered to his majesty, and he was obliged to fly from his capital. Some of the demagogues among the clergy declared the king possessed with the devil, and that the subjects might lawfully rise and take the sword out of his hand. However the nobles might sometimes avail themselves of the clergy for their own purposes, it was evidently their interest to depress such exorbitant power. Supported by them, the king declared those concerned in the tumults guilty of high treason. He threatened his rebellious capital with destruction, and obliged them to surrender the town and its best privileges: the magistrates were ordered to surrender themselves prisoners till they should take their trial. By these vigorous measures, the clergy were brought to a sense of their duty, and the turbulent ministers were obliged to fly into England. The triumph of royalty was completed by the policy of James in admitting some of the clergy to vote in parliament with the title of bishops and abbots; and in annexing to the crown the nomination of the principal parish ministers throughout the kingdom. From this time James remained absolute master of all ecclesiastical affairs.

The earl of Gowrie and his brother perished in an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the king, which they meditated to avenge their father's death. In the mean time, Elizabeth advanced in years, and the hopes of the English were

turned more and more towards James. A short time before her death, she broke the silence which she had so long preserved on the subject of her succession, and told Cecil and the lord admiral that her throne was the throne of kings, and she would have no mean person to ascend it, and that her cousin, the king of Scots, should be her successor. This declaration she confirmed on her death-bed, and as soon as she had breathed her last, the lords of the privy council proclaimed James king of England.

Before James left Scotland to take possession of his new kingdom, he had with great zeal laboured to civilize the northern and western Highlands. He was himself a scholar, and to his love of learning are the Scots indebted for the parochial schools, which give the common people so much advantage in point of education over other countries. He encouraged trade and the fisheries, and greatly promoted the industry of his subjects. He was at this period extremely popular; and when he took a farewell of his people, which he did with a long harangue in the church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, they expressed their sorrow for his departure with many sighs and tears. They did not share in the exaltation of their sovereign, but felt in a forcible manner that their country was in fact to become a subordinate part of the English monarchy. The queen, now the mother of two sons and a daughter, resided some time in Scotland after her husband's departure. She appears to have lost his confidence by her intrigues in political concerns. The king would not entrust her with the care of prince Henry, their eldest son, nor even with the less important

important charge of the younger children. When she demanded her son Henry from the earl of Marr, she received a flat refusal, according to the king's order. This treatment threw her majesty into a severe illness: after her recovery, she went to join her husband, now at Windsor.

The royal power acquired great additional strength in Scotland by means of the king's accession to the English throne. James was resolved to avail himself of this circumstance for the union of both the national churches and the kingdoms into one.

But the distinctions on the borders and the iron gates of Berwick were more easily removed, than the barriers of church policy and religious establishments. National prejudices were too strong to admit of any progress in the union of the two states and parliaments: conferences were indeed begun; but it required another century of continued intercourse, and of continued discussion to bring about so salutary a measure. Religious prejudices have hitherto proved insurmountable: and to this day the sovereign of Great Britain at his coronation swears to support the episcopal form of church government in England, and the presbyterian discipline in Scotland as equally founded on the word of God. James declared that he intended to have a conference in his own presence between the bishops and the presbyterian party, that he might by his royal wisdom settle all their differences; meanwhile he strictly prohibited any general assembly to meet without his warrant. In contradiction to this order an assembly was held by the clergy at Aberdeen; but their meeting was interrupted and the

clergy found by experience that they were no longer the dictators of the state. The leading members were apprehended and brought to London: they disclaimed the authority of the council and were pronounced guilty of treason; but their punishment was mitigated into a sentence of perpetual banishment.

The king proceeded in his design; the warmest zealots in the presbyterian cause were summoned to London under pretence of a conference, while he detained them there, James accomplished his designs in Scotland which their presence might have thwarted. A convention of the states was held, in which the bishops were restored to their ancient seats in parliament; such honours allured new members to abandon the presbyterian cause, and the genuine constitution of the church was almost totally subverted. The king's letter to his parliament was worthy of a father of his people: he exhorted them to resume the project of civilizing the highlands, of abolishing feuds, and of suppressing violence by the force of the law.

A D 1610.

In almost every thing else but the concerns of the church James found little difficulty in conducting the affairs of Scotland "*with his pen.*"

The earl of Orkney felt all the weight of royal authority when accused of oppressing his poor vassals; he was seized, condemned, and justly executed.

At length, after governing England for fourteen years, James resolved to revisit his ancient kingdom. Among the magnificent preparations for his reception; he commanded his royal chapel to be adorned with statues of the Apostles; even the bishops

bishops remonstrated against such a prelude to the introduction of popery. Though the king was greatly displeased at their officious zeal, yet he thought it adviseable to countermand his first orders: he travelled in pompous progress through the principal burghs, and was every where received as a beloved sovereign could expect to be. When he met his barons in parliament, their opposition to his favourite scheme of establishing episcopacy was but feeble; he obtained an act investing him in conjunction with the prelates and those ministers he should chuse, with full power in all matters regarding religion and the church. With reluctance he was reduced to allow the presbyterians their general assembly; but he brought them to consent that private communion might be administered, and that the officiating clergy should administer the sacrament with their own hands. In the parliament, in his court, at his table, and often in the church he harangued the nobles, the clergy, and people in favour of those novelties.

In the chapel royal the service was celebrated with an organ, and with a pomp which the puritanical simplicity abhorred: the common people discovered a spirit little short of rebellion on the alterations which they saw introduced into their religious worship; the chief benefit which resulted from this visit was the establishment of justices of peace and of constables on the same footing as those in England: king James took his journey back again to London: the affairs of the government were left as before to ministers.

In a general assembly, and afterwards in parliament,

liament, five articles in conformity with the church of England were agreed to, not without much opposition: these regard the rites of baptism, confirmation, and certain holidays. About the same time appeared the king's book of sports which was levelled at the puritanical sullenness with which the Lord's day is still observed by the Scots. By it bodily exercises and diversions on the Sunday were recommended and even enforced by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, a measure highly disgusting to the populace.

The affairs of the Scottish government proceeded for the subsequent years in their usual channel; the ancient privileges of the Scots in France were revived: lord Gordon, was made under the duke of Lenox, lieutenant colonel of the Scotch guard at that court, according to its first institution. A settlement was made in North America, and in order to encourage enterprising gentlemen to cultivate that country the order of knights of *Nova Scotia* was instituted. After a reign, and life of nearly fifty-nine years, king James was seized with his last illness: some doubts are entertained whether he was not poisoned: his preparations for death were calm and rational, and he met it with the greatest intrepidity.

CHAP. X.

From the Accession of Charles I. to the Restoration.

Charles I. THE respective officers af the crown were continued by Charles at his accession

accession to the throne, both of Scotland and England. His first scheme was the resumption of the church lands; he secretly purchased from the families of Lenox and Hamilton the temporalites of the see of Glasgow and of the abbey of Abroath, in order to enrich the two arch-bishops. The presbytery took the alarm, and secretly concerted measures for defending their religious establishment: they entered into correspondence with the disaffected party in England, who had already power enough to refuse the subsidies that were demanded of parliament.

The earl of Nithsdale, a reputed papist, received a commission from the king to bring about, either by threats or promises, the surrender of the church lands. According to Burnet, it was resolved to murder Nithsdale and his party if they insisted: a more justifiable and successful measure was the resumption of heritable sherrifdoms. The marquis of Huntly was considered as too powerful for a subject: he was heritable sheriff of Inverness and Aberdeenshire; for a consideration of five thousand pounds, which were never paid him, he was induced to resign his office to the crown.

Charles had not yet received the crown in Scotland and the ceremony of coronation was of importance in his opinion. His entry into Edinburgh was magnificent beyond description; he was crowned at Holyrood-house, and bishop Laud, his favourite, preached a sermon in which he insisted with vehemence on conformity with the church of England.

In the parliament which was now summoned were laid the foundations of all the subsequent miseries

miseries of this reign. The lords of the articles brought in a bill for confirming the royal prerogative together with the power granted to the late king to prescribe apparel to churchmen with their own consent. Nothing less than infatuation could have prevented Charles from seeing the danger of forcing such an unpopular and indeed frivolous and vexatious bill through parliament; it passed, however, and received the royal sanction. When the parliament had risen, the king visited several towns, but narrowly escaped being lost in a storm on crossing the Frith of Forth: the queen meanwhile had been delivered at Greenwich of another son, afterwards James II. On hearing the news of her delivery, Charles posted with a few attendants from Berwick, immediately on his arrival he advanced his favourite Laud to the see of Canterbury: Spotswood the historian, archbishop of St. Andrew's, was appointed to the office of chancellor in Scotland. Under the influence of these prelates it was, that the king proceeded to introduce a book of liturgy into the public worship of the Scottish churches.

When the day arrived, on which the new form was to commence at St. Giles's, the lower people, who had assembled in great numbers saluted the officiating clergyman with such vollies of execration that he durst not proceed; the bishop of Edinburgh was treated in a manner still more outrageous; and the magistrates had great difficulty to expel the populace and to shut the doors. During the service stones were thrown at the doors and windows, and the bishop on going home, narrowly escaped with his life from the enraged multitude. Similar scenes were acted throughout all the southern

southern parts of Scotland. In the mean time a prosecution was commenced against two clergymen for refusing to read the new liturgy; they vindicated themselves in such a manner, that the council came to a resolution, not to press the matter any farther, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known: to the representation of the council, the king returned an angry message, blaming them for their coolness and cowardice, and peremptorily commanding that the book of common prayer should be read every where, and that no borough should choose any magistrate, who did not conform to the same; but all was weakness or treachery among those who ought to have vindicated their sovereign: the old bishops were averse to the measure, the new prelates were intimidated and retired.

Petition after petition was poured in from all quarters: Traquair and Hope, the one the king's treasurer, the other his advocate, encouraged and directed the opposition; and what was at first but a popular commotion soon assumed the aspect of an obstinate national resistance.

Charles was now struggling amidst a host of troubles in the English government; a powerful voice of encouragement to rebellion reached from one end of the island to the other.

He issued a proclamation declaring his abhorrence of popery, and his resolution to do nothing against the laudable laws of his native kingdom: he offered pardon for the past; but required submission for the future; but the remonstrants had by this time organized insurrection.

Four distinct tables of barons, nobles, ministers,

ters, and burgesses with supreme authority directed the plan of opposition: A solemn league and covenant bound the members in the name of the God of peace, to establish, by force of arms, his holy gospel-worship, purified from all the abominations of popery and prelacy; and those, who would withdraw themselves from so sacred a confederacy, were treated as rebels to God and traitors to their country.

Such was the temper of the nation when the king dispatched his own and the people's favourite the marquis of Hamilton as mediator: he offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, and to new model the high commission or ecclesiastical court: for these concessions he required the covenant to be renounced and recalled: sixty-thousand covenanters solemnly declared they would sooner renounce their baptism: they would dictate to their sovereign; they scorned his grace. From Holland and other countries they were soliciting supplies of arms; yet no violent measure had been offered on the part of Charles: negotiation was the only means he had recourse to: the most conciliating offers were made; a great number of the more moderate, satisfied with the concessions made on the part of the court, signed another covenant, which was equally strong against popery, as that of king James had been: the courage of the most violent began to be damped, and they demanded time to consider of the matter. Hamilton returned again from London with fresh instructions and the fullest powers: a general assembly of the church was convened; the covenant was ordered to be signed by every person under pain of excommunication; episcopacy, the

canons

canons, the liturgy all disappeared and fell to the ground; the commissioner ordered the assembly to be discontinued under pain of treason; but, in defiance of all authority, the members armed and surrounded with armed men continued their sittings. The earl of Argyle and several members of the privy council scrupled not to join this assembly of rebels: they at length dissolved themselves with bitter imprecations against their sovereign, if he should ever go about to undo what they had done.

A civil war was now become unavoidable: the covenanters prepared for it with vigour; they had been all along encouraged and they were now supported by the French minister, Richelieu. Arms, ammunition, and money were sent them from France and other countries: no regular established commonwealth could take wiser measures. Lesley, a soldier of experience and abilities, who had distinguished himself in the Swedish wars, the earl of Montrose, a youth of heroic genius, with other leaders of the party, all of them men of sense and resolution, conducted the military affairs; a few castles unprovided with stores and garrisons were soon seized; they raised with great rapidity fortifications to defend Leith: noblemen and gentlemen put their hands to the work; ladies of high rank intermingled with the lowest rabble, and carried on their shoulders burthens of rubbish to complete the work: in short the whole kingdom engaged with unspeakable ardour in the glorious cause.

A few and but a very few of well-affected nobility still adhered to their king; the marquis of Douglas a papist, and therefore without power or trust;

trust; the earl of Roxburgh on the borders; the earls of Airly and Southesk in Angus; but the strength of the royal cause lay with Huntly in the North: this nobleman not receiving any succours from the king was persuaded to treat with the covenanters, and to disband his forces. They invited him afterwards to a conference where, in violation of their own safe-conduct, they detained him and his eldest son prisoners. Lord Aboyn the second son, they dismissed on his parole.

Meanwhile Charles directed a writ to his nobility to attend his royal standard at York. On this occasion the papists appeared so forward and contributed their proportions of money with such zeal as gave umbrage to his protestant subjects, and was of real disservice to the cause. In a few weeks however Charles found himself at the head of six thousand horse and twenty thousand foot: Hamilton commanded a formidable fleet, with five thousand chosen troops on board; he arrived in the frith of Forth, and made himself master of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, two small islands which the covenanters had neglected to fortify; but his weak conduct frustrated the purposes for which the fleet had been equipped. He made no descents upon the coast; he kept his men pent up on board the ships, till the want of fresh air and fresh provisions occasioned diseases that cut off numbers of them: his own mother was so zealous a covenanter, that she raised a body of troops and headed them in person. When she came to Leith she protested, that she would kill her son with her own hands, should he venture to land.

The great army of the covenanters, consisting of

of twenty-five thousand men, under the command of Lesley, now lay in sight of the enemy, near the borders; but there was little inclination on either side to come to any engagement: the king would not trust to the loyalty of his English subjects, nor even in the fidelity and talents of his generals. The covenanters knew their men to be raw undisciplined troops: Money, the great sinew of war, was equally wanting on both sides; and both alike desired to shew their moderation by offering to negotiate: commissioners met and treated; a hasty pacification ensued agreeable to which the Scots were to disband their forces, the king should have possession of the forts; and a general assembly and a parliament be immediately summoned in order to compose all differences: hostilities thus ceased and a short but deceitful calm ensued.

Before the king left Berwick, he summoned fourteen of the chief covenanters to attend him; but such was the general disposition of the people that none durst obey the summons, but Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, those three obtained leave with the greatest difficulty. Montrose upon conversing with the king, conceived so good an opinion of him, that from being a warm opponent, he became at once a true, though as yet a concealed friend to the royal cause. The three lords ingenuously opened to Charles the grievances they expected to be redressed in the next parliament: they demanded that the value of coin should be regulated by parliament; that no strangers should garrison their castles, none but Scots should obtain lands or honours; and that heritable jurisdiction should be abolished.

 When

When Traquair, appointed commissioner, came to Edinburgh, he found the army of the rebels had never been disbanded, the fortifications of Leith continued, and many other violations of the treaty committed. Such was the situation of affairs when the assembly met, which was followed by a parliament; both were almost exclusively composed of zealous covenanters: their proceedings were such that the king ordered his commissioners to prorogue the parliament; and instantly the flame of rebellion broke forth with more violence than ever: the parliament resumed its sittings in direct violation of the king's order; they deputed Loudon and Dumfermling as their commissioners to confer personally with their sovereign; but while these commissioners were at court, Traquair intercepted a letter from the chief of the covenanters to the king of France, which so provoked the king that he ordered Loudon to be imprisoned in the tower. Although Charles had discontinued parliaments in England for eleven years, he was now reluctantly compelled to call together his lords and commons in hopes of obtaining some supplies for the war.

This measure however producing no effect he was obliged to have recourse to other expedients: his most loyal counsellors and nobles could only furnish him with a small loan; with much difficulty he was enabled to march an army of nine thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Scots were more successful in their levies; they determined on invading England, whither they were invited by the malcontents. With little delay they marched on to cross the Tyne by a ford at Newburn. Lesley demanded liberty to

5 pass

pass the river with his army, that his countrymen might present their petition to their king: to this no regard was paid by Conway who commanded the English forces on the opposite bank: the Scots then suddenly attacked the defenders of the ford; the English made a feeble resistance, and the cavalry under Conway refused to fight, some laid down their arms, and the greater part retreated in disorder.

This victory laid open to the Scots all the north of England, where they levied great contributions. Newcastle and Durham fell into their hands: the main army of the king retreated towards York. Instead of hastening to support their sovereign, the English nobles took this opportunity to demand the convocation of a parliament, and redress of all their grievances: In this extremity Charles was again compelled to treat with the rebels: commissioners met at Rippon, in Yorkshire, to negotiate; but as many difficulties occurred, the conferences were transferred to London whither the king hastened to contend with the English parliament. The Scots being such useful allies to the malcontent party in England were retained in the pay of parliament during the whole year. In the following autumn the king, in compliance with his promise, repaired to Edinburgh in order to settle the government: As he must necessarily have passed the troops of of both nations, the commons hurried on the disbanding of the armies; the arrears therefore of the Scots were fully paid them, and they returned to their country.

Charles despoiled in England of his authority, arrived in Scotland with a determination to give full

full satisfaction, if possible, to his restless subjects. The lords of the articles were totally laid aside. A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed. But the most fatal blow to regal authority, was the article, that no member of the privy counsel, no officer of state, none of the judges should be appointed, but by the advice and approbation of parliament. During his stay in Scotland, the king conformed entirely to the established church.

Almost immediately on his return to England, Charles found himself engaged in a civil war with his factious parliament. At this period of distress, the English rebels courted a closer union with their friends in Scotland. They agreed to receive the solemn league and covenant, to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland, and to reform England and Ireland, according to the word of God, and the example of the purest churches. One hundred thousand pounds were advanced, and regular pay promised by the English parliament for a subsidiary army of twenty thousand Scots.

The invasion from Scotland threw the king into new embarrassment. They hastened to join lord Fairfax, and effectually assisted him in reducing the city of York. They took likewise, by storm, the town of Newcastle, after having been reinforced by ten thousand men, under the command of the earl of Callendar.

While the king's affairs declined in England, the brave Montrose had raised the royal standard in the North. He, like the Marshal Turenne, had once fought too successfully under the banners of rebellion; he now atoned for his success, by his heroic

heroic exploits in a better cause. Hamilton's timid or treacherous counsels, had misled the king, and damped the energy of his friends. He was at last committed to prison, and the king's ears were now open to Montrose's counsels.

This active nobleman, having received a supply of twelve hundred troops from Ireland, hastened to take the command of this auxiliary force. Several more flocked to his standard. Lord Kilpont, who had raised his vassals to fight for the covenant, espoused his sovereign's cause. Montrose saw himself at the head of three thousand men. With these, he attacked and defeated a party of the covenanters, six thousand in number, under Tullibardine. Perth opened its gates to the victor, and was laid under contribution. He next proceeded towards Angus, where the royal interest was strong. On the march, Stuart, of Ardovorlich, assassinated the gallant Kilpont, his own bosom friend, after soliciting him in vain to desert from Montrose, back to the covenant.

At Aberdeen, Montrose gained a second victory over the rebels under lord Burleigh. Argyle, with a great army, was sent in pursuit of the hero. But Argyle dreaded an encounter, and resigned the command, under pretence of attending a convention of the states. The Macleans, and Macdonalds, now joined the standard of Montrose. In compliance with their wishes, he fell suddenly upon Argyle's country. The chieftain hastened to the protection of his vassals. But his courage failed him at the approach of the loyalists, and he abandoned, by a precipitate flight, all his lands a prey to the enemy.

From Inverary, Montrose retired eastward, to refresh and recruit his forces in the shire of Moray. Argyle, collecting three thousand men, marched in quest of the loyalists, who were retiring with their plunder. But Montrose hastened to meet him at Inverlochy. Argyle, seized with a panic, deserted his army, which however gave battle to the royalists. Victory was still faithful to Montrose. The terror of his name dispersed Seaforth's army, which was advancing from Inverness. The Gordons, the Grants, the Highlanders, in great numbers, resorted to his colours. It seemed as if in Montrose were revived the invincible genius of a Wallace, or a Bruce.

The council at Edinburgh, alarmed at his continued success, sent against him Baillie and Urry, two of their best generals. They surprized him in Dundee, which he had carried, and given up to plunder. His conduct, and presence of mind, in this emergency, appeared conspicuous. He instantly rallied his men, covered his retreat by the most skilful measures, and having marched sixty miles in the face of an enemy much superior, he at last secured himself in the mountains.

Baillie and Urry now divided their troops. The latter met Montrose at Alderne, near Inverness, and was there completely defeated. No better success attended Baillie at the battle of Alford.

Having thus prevailed in so many engagements, as decisive as they were successful, Montrose summoned together all his friends and partizans, and prepared to march southward, in order to put a final period to the covenant.

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The rebels assembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle at Kilsyth. This was the most complete victory that Montrose ever obtained. The royalists put to the sword six thousand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remains of an army in Scotland. Edinburgh and Glasgow opened their gates, and set at liberty the prisoners detained by the covenanters.

Lesley was now detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his friends in Scotland. The highlanders had retired to their hills, in order to secure their plunder. Montrose, allured by the vain hopes of obtaining some cavalry from England, and of rousing the borderers to join him, had advanced still further to the south. Lesley surprized his army at Philipshaugh in the Forest. After a sharp conflict, the rebels gained the day. Montrose with difficulty escaped to Athol. The royalists who received quarter were cut in pieces in cold blood, as the covenanted clergy declared them undeserving of any faith being kept with them. Montrose would have still renewed his attempts; but the fortunes of the king were now ruined in England, and he was at last reduced to the desperate expedient of seeking refuge in the heart of an army which was in open rebellion against him. The immediate consequences of this fatal step were orders expedited in the king's name for his adherents to lay down their arms. Montrose obeyed, and retired for a time to France.

The events which ensued in England fall not within this history. It is sufficient to say here, that by a treaty, the infamy of which no pretext

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can hide, no time efface, the Scottish covenanted army sold the person of their native king to his blood-thirsty subjects, without stipulating even for his personal safety.

The complete triumph of the covenant was followed in Scotland by executions without number, and slaughter without end. Even those who laid down their arms on the promise of mercy were unmercifully butchered at the instance of the sanguinary preachers. Huntly, the remaining chief of the royal party, was surprised and taken prisoner. The news of his misfortune gave Charles great concern; he employed all his interest to save that nobleman, but it was with the utmost difficulty that his execution was delayed.

A new sect, called the Independents, and headed by Oliver Cromwell, had by this time arisen in England. Still more rebellious than the parliament-men, or even the covenanters themselves, they resolved on the entire destruction of royalty and of the religious establishment. The army was theirs, and with the army all the power of the land. The authority of parliament was but a shadow, on the point of vanishing for ever, like that of the king it had dethroned. Instead of being able to establish orthodoxy by the sword, the presbyterians beheld this host of sectaries claim an unbounded liberty of conscience. The independents took every opportunity of mortifying the Scots, so that subjects of dissatisfaction were daily multiplying between the parties. Something like a faint glow of reviving loyalty told the Scots that before God and the world they were responsible for the treatment of the captive monarch whom they had sold. The violences put on

on the king they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant by which they stood engaged to defend his royal person, and those very actions of which they themselves had been guilty they now denominated treason and rebellion. In short, Scotland, indignant at itself for having deposed and betrayed its own royal blood, voted an army of forty thousand men in support of their sovereign. Hamilton, who obtained his liberty, was to head these forces. But the violent party, whose principles have been perpetuated to this day, considered it as the height of impiety to fight for an uncovenanted king. Anathema and damnation were denounced by a general assembly of the *kirk* to those who should join the unhallowed standard.

Hamilton's levies under such circumstances could proceed but slowly, and when at last he entered England, he durst not unite his forces with the English royalists, who had refused the covenant. The two armies, though marching together, kept at some distance, nor could the approach of Cromwell with his army bring the presbyterians to consult their own safety by close union with the royal army.

Cromwell was not afraid to encounter an army thus divided, with a force greatly inferior. He attacked the English royalists by surprize, who not being succoured by their allies, were cut in pieces. The Scots were attacked in their turn, put to rout, and Hamilton, their commander, taken prisoner. Cromwell followed up his advantage, and entering into Scotland, was joined by Argyle, who was at the head of the violent party. All moderation was now laid aside, the

ecclesiastical

ecclesiatical authority exercised the severest vengeance against all those who had sided with Hamilton, and the chancellor himself was obliged to do public penance for his obedience to parliament, which, in the cant of the times, he termed *carnal self-seeking*.

Cromwell returned in triumph to England, and consummated his iniquity by bringing his sovereign to the scaffold, and grasping, in the name of liberty, independence, and religion, the sceptre of tyranny and despotism. Hamilton's death soon followed that of his master. He died in England a victim of loyalty, as the brave and unfortunate Huntly did in Scotland.

Horror at the king's condemnation, an indignant shame in the reflection that they had been the instruments of the crimes of the English, and then contemptuously shaken off, a persecuting zeal against the independents, who refused to take the covenant, now determined the covenanters to declare for the young king, Charles II. then in Holland, but on condition that he should make himself the pupil of presbyterianism, and take the covenant. Commissioners were dispatched by the estates to wait on the prince at Breda, and to treat with him.

Meanwhile Montrose was dispatched to the Orkneys, to make an attempt for the king's restoration on better terms. From Orkney he carried over a few recruits to Caithness, hoping that the love of their king and the fame of his former exploits would make the highlanders flock to his standard. The estates lost no time to oppose him. They sent Lesley and Holborne against him. Montrose was surprised, taken prisoner, and

and conducted to Edinburgh. All the insolence which success and hatred can produce in ungenerous minds was exercised against this heroic captive. He was led about and insulted by the populace; he was condemned by the parliament to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, and his members to be distributed all over the kingdom. The clergy positively pronounced his damnation, and assured him that the doom he was about to meet was but an easy prologue to what he must undergo hereafter. He smiled amidst all their endeavours to afflict him, and asked whether they had yet any other efforts of malignity to wreak upon him. He died with a fortitude which neither the cruelty nor the ignoble treatment could subdue. Montrose was incontestibly one of the greatest men and the best commanders that his country ever produced. No military man among his contemporaries atchieved feats so wonderful as those of his first conquest of Scotland, with means so inadequate. His last enterprize was the effect of despair, resolved to perish if he could not prevail, but willing to hazard his life in the attempt. With him were executed Spotswood, Hay, Sibbald, and Hurry of Urry, who had formerly fought against him, but now espoused the same cause. Such was the vengeful hatred against the best friends of their young sovereign with which the covenanters signalized their frantic enthusiasm, at the very time they were inviting Charles to take possession of the throne of his fathers.

This prince no sooner heard that Montrose was defeated and executed than he threw himself entirely into the hands of the covenanters, and set sail from Holland for the Scottish coast. During the

the voyage the commissioners of the ruling party produced new demands, and insisted on higher terms than ever, particularly that all the transactions between the marquis of Ormond and the Irish catholics should be disavowed, and that Charles should sacrifice the marquis, one of the worthiest and greatest subjects he had. This demand was so much resented by the young prince, that he threatened to land in Denmark instead of Scotland; but the duke of Buckingham and lord Wilmot, men of the most immoral principles, advised him to submit to all the conditions that could be required of him, with a view of breaking them when it was in his power.

Charles suffered himself to be conveyed to Leith. Before he was permitted to land he was required to sign the covenant, and many sermons and lectures were made to him, exhorting him to be faithful to that holy confederacy. They obliged him to dismiss Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, and others of the presbyterian party, called engagers; none of his English friends, who had fought for his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he procured leave for the duke of Buckingham to be admitted to his person.

Those preliminaries being settled, Charles was treated with all the respect and attendance that had been paid to his ancestors. Previous to his inauguration his sincerity and compliance were put to every trial that zeal could suggest. He was prevailed on to issue the most humiliating declarations, lamenting the sins of his father and the idolatry of his mother, and desiring to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit for his father's

ther's wicked measures in opposing the covenant, and shedding the blood of the saints throughout his dominions.

In the meanwhile, though king, he was suffered to exercise no personal acts of power, he had no voice in the government of his realm, he was consulted in no public measure, he was not called to assist at any of the councils; in short, he found himself treated as a mere pageant of state, his authority annihilated, and his character degraded.

Ashamed of having entrusted himself to the hands of men who sought to render him instrumental in the ruin of his best friends, apprehensive that the covenanters might abandon and betray him, as they had before sold his father, Charles made his escape from Perth, and hastened through Angus to put himself under the protection of a small body of old royalists, under the command of Middleton. He was pursued, overtaken, and by means somewhat between force and persuasion induced to return. The rigour with which he had been treated was somewhat relaxed, but no sincere attachment could ever take place between him and his presbyterian keepers.

As soon as Cromwell found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, he prepared for war. Argyle and his friends, whatever correspondence they might have formerly had with the usurper, considered the march of an English army into Scotland as an attack on the national independence. Confident of the favour of heaven, they prepared to repel the invader: but the advance of an hostile army was not able to appease or soften the animosities of parties. The king's efforts to bring

 about

about an union, increased the suspicions which the covenanters entertained of him, as if he were not entirely their own.

Cromwell, in the mean time, came northward with an army of about sixteen thousand men, valiant, well disciplined, and full of the most over-weening spiritual arrogance, so confident of being the elect of heaven that they expected the god of battles to give them assured victory over their enemies, the *heirs of wrath.* No less assured of the protection of heaven against a sectarian and heretical army, the preachers of the covenant led on an invincible host of saints, boldly declaring to the Lord, that if he would not save them from the hands of Agag and the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God. They purged the army of about four thousand malignants and engagers, the best soldiers in the kingdom, whose zeal had led them to attend the king; and Charles himself was ordered to leave the camp, where he began to gain the hearts of the soldiery by the spirit and bravery he displayed.

Lesley had been appointed commander in chief of the Scots. With a prudence worthy of his own great experience, he conveyed away every thing that could be of use to the enemy, and entrenched his army between Edinburgh and Leith, in a situation where he might cover the capital and command the necessary supplies.

Cromwell approached the Scottish camp, and strove, though without success, to provoke Lesley to a battle. Disappointed in this endeavour, the English protector found himself in a very distressed situation, having no provisions but what he

he received by sea, and these not in sufficient quantity; he formed the resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. With this view he retreated to Dunbar.

His retreat rendered the covenanting preachers almost furious for battle. They obliged the general to decamp, and to march in pursuit of the enemy. Lesley, still distrustful of the courage and discipline of his own troops, choose another situation almost impregnable on the heights of Lammer-moor. Cromwell saw with infinite concern that he could not yet force the Scots to engage him at a disadvantage. At this critical moment, when he was preparing to continue his retreat with dishonour, the impatience of the soldiers and the enthusiasm of the Scottish clergy would no longer brook the controul of their general's prudence. They obliged him to descend from the heights, and to attack the English in the plain. Cromwell observing the enemy's camp in motion, "The Lord," saith he, "hath delivered them into our hands," and immediately gave orders to begin the charge. In their first onset the Scots were impetuous, but disorderly; the English veterans soon scattered them in flight, and the few highlanders who scorned to turn their back fought till they were all cut to pieces. Four thousand fell on the spot, and ten thousand were taken prisoners. One half of the latter were sent to England, from whence they were transported to America, there to sow the seeds of those principles which were one day to sever the colonies from their mother country.

Cromwell took possession of Edinburgh and Leith; but the approach of winter, and an ague with which he had been seized, kept him from pushing his conquest any farther.

This disaster blasted the strength and humbled the pride of the covenanters. They were now obliged to give the king some authority, and to apply to him for support. Amidst their first consternation, a majority of the clergy agreed that the partizans of the Hamilton's should now be called forth, on condition of doing public penance for the crime of loyalty, which they performed in the manner such a farce deserved.

The royalists, whom Charles was pleased to call about his person, were admitted. In a short time they became powerful enough to form a party against Argyle himself, who was often outvoted in the parliament and at the council board. The duke of Hamilton joined the king, with 100 volunteer horse of rank and quality. Wilmot, Seymour, and other English royalists, were invited back to court. The king was allowed to give commissions to all whom he thought well affected, and the clergy became as zealous for the royal cause as they had been cold in it before the battle of Dunbar.

The king's coronation, which had been hitherto deferred, now took place at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651, with as much ceremony as the circumstances could admit of: but Argyle and his party had still influence enough left to oblige Charles to take the covenant, and to undergo other mortifications, the crown being put on his head by Argyle himself.

Charles

Charles now pressed with vigour the preparations for taking the field. By his compliance he endeavoured to unite all parties in his service. Regiments were given to the chief nobility of Scotland, without distinction of parties. A new army was levied and encamped under the command of Hamilton and Lesley, in a strong position near Stirling: but Cromwell having recovered of his ague, succeeded in an attempt to cut off the royalists from any further communication with the North and the Highlands, so that they must either fight or march into England: the latter was resolved on by the majority, chiefly of the English themselves, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Argyle, who on that occasion retired to his estate.

The number of men that marched with Charles from Stirling might be about 22,000, but desertion prevailed so much, that they dwindled to 14,000. They were pursued by Cromwell, who surrounded them at Worcester with 30,000 veterans, and 20,000 militia. No efforts of personal valour or conduct were wanting on the part of Charles to extricate himself and his troops from their perilous situation: but in consequence of Lesley's treachery, the Scots were completely routed; 2,000 men cut in pieces, and 7,000 taken prisoners. The king himself escaped into the wood of Boscobel, where, amidst the thick branches of the royal oak, he eluded for a day and a night the pursuit of Cromwell's soldiers, whom he could hear eager in search for him below. After passing through a multitude of dangers, and experiencing extraordinary fidelity from several loyal subjects, he at last took shipping from the

the coast of Sussex, and arrived safe at Feschamp in Normandy.

The king's party were no less unsuccessful in Scotland than he himself had been in England. General Monk, who was left by Cromwell to command, soon reduced Stirling, Dundee, and all the other places. Middleton, who after being made prisoner at Worcester, had escaped from the tower of London, came to assume the command of the Highland force; and with difficulty maintained it for a short time longer in arms. But the English victorious in every other quarter, sent Morgan against him, who surprized and defeated his party. The other royalists offered to lay down their arms on honourable terms, which were granted them by Monk. Huntly capitulated—Argyle submitted; and thus Cromwell remained absolute master of Scotland.

A military government was now established over all the British dominions: a period so disgraceful in the eyes of Scottish historians, that they have left us no account whatever of its transactions.

Commissioners came from England for the administration of public affairs. They passed all public acts in their name, and in that of the commonwealth of England. They emitted an act of grace and indemnity, with certain restrictions, for all crimes committed during the late commotions. The English garrisons, who lived regularly and spent their pay in the country, contributed not only to make the government respected and obeyed, but even to render the nation happy and contented. Justice was regularly administered, and religious animosities suppressed. The union of

of the three parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was projected, and in some measure accomplished by the protector. In short, three nations, who had been impatient of the just and gentle sway of their lawful sovereign, now tamely crouched under the military dominion of an upstart, almost from among the lowest of the people. The death of the usurper, and the subsequent restoration of Charles, are events foreign to this history.

Charles II.

The king had made his triumphant entry into London on the 29th of May, amid such universal acclamations of his subjects, that "he wondered what had become of the people who had kept him so long abroad." The earl of Clarendon, his first minister, had kept up a regular correspondence with the leading nobles in Scotland, and the king himself was well acquainted with the state of parties there. Middleton was made an earl, and appointed commissioner in the ensuing Scottish parliament; and Lauderdale, secretary for Scotland, residing at court.

The parliament was opened with unusual splendour at Edinburgh. In the proceedings of this assembly the royal prerogative was exalted to a pitch of despotism: so natural is it for man to run from one extreme into another. A revenue of 40,000l. a year was settled on the king for life. The lords of the articles were again introduced, to prepare every subject to be discussed before parliament. All acts derogatory to the king's prerogative, and even the whole established government of Scotland, was repealed by one vote: in short, the lords and commons shewed themselves

as furiously zealous in their loyalty, as they had proved in their rebellion.

The adjustment of the affairs of the church was a matter of more difficulty. Charles, notwithstanding his gentle and moderate behaviour, had, from the mortifications he met with in Scotland, conceived as rooted a detestation of presbyterianism, as ever his father or grandfather harboured. After their example, he determined to give the preference to espiscopacy. Presbytery, indeed, was to be suffered for a little time longer; but in order to pave the way for its abolition, Sharp, the agent for the Scottish church, was prevailed upon to desert the cause of his constituents, and to agree to his own promotion to the see of St. Andrews. At the same time other bishops accepted of episcopal ordination in England, and were nominated to other dioceses in the kingdom.

Hitherto nothing had been done since the restoration to punish the leaders of the late troubles in such an exemplary manner as to deter others from exciting in future similar commotions. The king was bound by no promise to grant any amnesty: all the nation lay at at his mercy. But Charles had nothing of cruelty in his temper: he restricted his vengeance to one victim in each class. A nobleman, a gentleman, and a minister, were doomed to suffer. Argyle, the leader of the covenanters, was singled out among the nobles as the greatest enemy of royalty. He who had brought the brave Montrose to the scaffold, was now tried, condemned, and executed, according to his deserts. In his last moments he displayed more firmness and fortitude than he had ever shewn in his life.

Guthrie

Guthrie was deservedly selected from among the refractory clergy He had pronounced sentence of excommunication against Middleton for some acts of loyalty ; and at the very time of the restoration had attempted to revive the covenanting spirit in all its fury. He met his fate with fortitude, and was honoured by his party as a martyr.

Johnston, created a lord by Cromwell, was the gentleman destined for execution. Aware of the fate that awaited him, he had retired into voluntary exile, by which means he escaped, for the present, the punishment decreed against him. A few more of the late insurgents were subjected to temporary imprisonment or exile, after which the parliament was dissolved.

When we consider that there was scarcely one gentleman of property in Scotland, who was not a rebel in the eye of the law, we cannot but pronounce such a conduct of a government invested with unlimited power, extremely moderate towards its opponents. Charles seems to have been more anxious to secure their submission by lenity, than to reward the exertions of his friends by his generosity. Most of the royalists had been ruined by their attachment to his cause; but the king's finances were not in a situation to indemnify them ; so that exactions and fines were the odious means recurred to, in order to supply the deficiency.

After the dissolution of the first parliament, the king communicated to the council his resolution in favour of episcopacy. The new consecrated bishops arrived from England to take possession of their sees, and the meetings of presbyteries were prohibited.

Within no long time the parliament again assembled;

sembled; the bishops resumed their seats, and the first act of the legislature was to sanction episcopacy as the national religion. The oath of supremacy and allegiance, framed by the preceding parliament, was required to be taken by the presbyterians under severe penalties.

The king's counsellors were far from being unanimous in these proceedings. Clarendon and others at court favoured episcopacy. Lauderdale, a moderate presbyterian, opposed it, as much from motives of jealousy as from any patriotic regard to the welfare of his country; for when he saw the fall of presbyterianism resolved on, he fell in with the views of the court. Middleton, the commissioner, determined to earn the continued support of Clarendon, and of the bishops, proceeded against those ministers who refused submission to episcopacy. An act of council ordered the immediate ejection of all the refractory preachers. Throughout all the western counties, the ministers refused compliance, and suffered their churches to be shut up. Deprived all at once of public worship, the people lamented their forlorn condition, and were filled with indignation against Middleton and his party.

When the news of so general an opposition reached London, the king resolved to put an end to the administration which had occasioned it. With this view he summoned Middleton to court, recalled his commission, and appointed the earl of Rothes in his stead, who was to act by the direction of Lauderdale.

The bishops were still allowed a great share in the direction of affairs; Sharp declared in favour of vigorous measures; and one half of the kingdom

kingdom was pillaged and distracted in favour of episcopacy.

About this time Warriston was delivered up by the French king, and being brought to Edinburgh, was tried, condemned, and executed for his treasonable conduct during the late troubles.

When we look into the religious composition of the Scottish clergy of every denomination from the reformation to the revolution, it would be difficult to meet in history any set of ecclesiastics of any persuasion so totally void of learning as they were. But their ignorance was compensated by their zeal against popery, and in general by their exemplary lives. The new incumbents, who succeeded the ejected presbyterian clergy, generally attended the military in their most oppressive exploits, displaying great avarice, united with gross immorality.

The persecuted presbyterians at last rose in open rebellion. They provided themselves with arms, in order to protect their conventicles, and favourite field-preachers; and at Dalry, in Galloway, they attacked and defeated a party of soldiers. Immediately the whole district was in a flame. The insurgents hastened to Dumfries, where they surprized and made prisoner Turner, whose party was too small to resist. Flushed with this first success, they repaired to Ayr, from whence, still increasing in number, they advanced to Edinburgh. On the Pentland hills they were met by the king's forces, under Dalziel. The rebels had neither ammunition, nor sufficient armour of any sort. They were routed with considerable slaughter at the first onset. Many to whom the military had given quarter, were after-

wards

wards tried and executed: and all, directly or indirectly, concerned in the insurrection, were pursued with the most unrelenting severity. The executions were so numerous and so atrocious, that the hangmen themselves relented, and refused to perform their office.

At length the king, shocked at the continuance of these barbarities, gave orders that no more blood should be split; he commanded the furious prelate Sharp to confine himself to his own diocese, and dismissed the earl of Rothes from his offices of high commissioner and treasurer.

The government all of a sudden assumed a mild complexion. The gentle Leightoun, bishop of Dunkeld, was to have the chief direction of ecclesiastic affairs; the earl of Tweedale and sir Robert Murray, both friends of Lauderdale, that of the state.

The first question that came before the new administration was, how the peace of Scotland was to be preserved? The king had put his council under no restraint, as to the measures they should think proper to adopt. The commissioners of the treasury proposed that a bond of peace should be tendered to all who were suspected: by this they were to give security, or their personal bond and oath, that they should not disturb the peace. After some difficulty, this conciliating plan was approved of by a majority of the council, and received the royal sanction.

Some officers, who had been guilty of arbitrary acts of cruelty, were discharged, and the two archbishops were admonished to enforce the laws against the papists; an indirect reproof for their late severities against the presbyterians. Yielding farther

farther to the obstinacy of the latter, the government granted them a formal indulgence, and even restored a number of their ministers to vacant parishes, with a yearly allowance to such as should live peaceably.

Conciliatory measures, unfortunately for mankind, are generally offered too late. The minds of the covenanters were now too much exasperated to accept of any terms: every concession encouraged them to look for more. The bond of peace was treated as an oppression; the episcopal clergymen were often obliged for personal safety to abandon their charges to the intrusion of presbyterians: in some places, sums of money were given to procure their dismission. In short, so great was the enthusiasm among the covenanters, that one of their preachers attempted to assassinate archbishop Sharp, by firing a pistol into his carriage.

Indignant at such incurable obstinacy and fanaticism, Lauderdale renounced once more all moderation, and determined against the advice of his friends, sir Robert Murray and the earl of Tweedale, to subdue by violent means the untractable recusants.

With this view he persuaded Charles to take Sharp and the prelates again into favour; he new modelled the militia, and cantoned them in the presbyterian districts, in order to suppress their conventicles; and notwithstanding the expence of a numerous standing army, he contrived, by a frugal administration, to make an annual saving of ten thousand pounds.

Sir Robert Murray becoming an object of jealousy to Lauderdale, he was recalled, and Lau-

 derdale

derdale himself came down to open the parliament, which he did with the magnificence of a prince.

It was not an easy matter to satisfy the contending parties at this period, and we find Lauderdale blamed for his proceedings by both episcopalians and presbyterians. The indulgence granted to non-conformists offended the former, the suppression of conventicles disgusted the latter. Lauderdale proposed to pass an act, asserting the king's supremacy in all ecclesiastical cases, and over all persons.

Although this act was contradictory to the sentiments of all parties, it passed without a dissenting voice, and the parliament declared, "that the king and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, ancient church governments, &c. as they in their royal wisdom shall think fit."

As to the militia or standing army, it was determined that it should be kept up, and that orders should be transmitted to it from the council-board, without mention of the king.

Many reflections have been thrown out against these two acts: the necessity of the times seems, however, to justify them. Had the king not possessed the power of indulging the refractory clergy, much more bloodshed might have ensued, and the bishops acted both illiberally and inconsistently in denying that power, after having taken the oath of supremacy. Neither can the militia act be justly condemned, when we consider that the malcontents in England and in Scotland were very numerous, and could only be kept in check by a military disposeable force: besides

besides that the nature of a militia does not admit of its being employed for arbitrary and oppressive purposes.

With a mixture of rigour and lenity, Lauderdale continued for some time to administer the public affairs without giving satisfaction to any party, yet without for a long time losing the favour of his sovereign. Charles thought, perhaps with justice, that his chief crime lay in advancing the royal prerogative, the most meritorious service he could perform to his crown and person.

Sharpe managed the concerns of the church like a pope. His brother bishops demanded a national synod, which he not only prevented, but caused one of his colleagues to be censured for going to London, and petitioning for a council without the consent of his superiors. Mitchel, who had made the attempt on the life of the archbishop, was at length discovered and put to the torture: but by bearing it with astonishing fortitude, he stood acquitted by the laws. A new attempt was made to induce him to confess, a promise of pardon being made to him. His confession was no sooner obtained, than he was condemned and executed at the solicitation of the prelate, notwithstanding the promises made to the contrary.

This execution excited a general indignation against Sharpe, and from that day he was devoted to destruction. It was not long before he was encountered in his own diocese by nine assassins, some of them gentlemen of property. They hastened to surround his coach, dismounted and disarmed his servants, then discharged their carabines into the carriage, without making any dangerous

gerous wound. They had turned, and were going from him, when his daughter, who was with him in the coach, was overheard to say, "Oh! there is life yet." With remorseless souls they turned, dragged him out of the coach, and while protesting they had no personal quarrel with him, put him to death in a manner too barbarous to relate. It is impossible not to be struck at the remarkable coincidence of circumstances between the fate of this prelate and that of cardinal Beaton, his predecessor, in the see of St. Andrews. The presbyterians considered both as the awful judgment of God upon a persecutor, and the perpetrators of these deeds were not abhorred as assassins, but reverenced as men who had acted under the irresistible influence of heaven.

The popish plot breaking out about this time in England, opened a new scene, and threw that kingdom into confusion. Upon a candid review of it in all its progress, it appears to have been a fanatical contrivance of zealous protestants to render the papists, and especially the duke of York, odious to the public. Lord Shaftesbury and party appealed for the reality of the plot to the slavery of Scotland, and Lauderdale was branded as the tool of arbitrary power.

When the Scots learned that England was inflamed with discontents not greatly dissimilar to their own, they were emboldened to offer armed resistance. Hamilton, a young preacher, was declared their head. On the 29th of May, they published a testimony, declaring their opposition to all the acts of parliament relating to religion, and publicly committed them to the

flames.

flames. Graham, an excellent officer, marched against them while at prayers, but was defeated by the preacher and his congregation, and narrowly escaped being taken. The murderers of Sharp were present, and acquitted themselves with desperate valour.

Elated with success, the whigs, as they were now denominated, seized the town of Hamilton: they next attacked Glasgow, but were repulsed. The king's troops, however, soon evacuated that city, which was occupied by the whigs.

No sooner were the privy council at Edinburgh informed of these events, than they summoned the unembodied militia to join the regular troops; they dispatched letters to Lauderdale, then at court: and the king's natural son, Monmouth, came down to take the command against the insurgents. The English patriots, with a loyalty worthy of those times, demurred as to the legality of assisting their king in Scotland, and Monmouth was obliged to come down post to join the royal troops then in readiness. He was followed by orders not to treat, but to fight.

The rebels before his arrival were beginning to cool, and many of them thought they had gone too far. They could not agree among themselves, in regard to the principles on which they were to justify and maintain their insurrection. The moderate party drew up a declaration, under the name of "the oppressed protestants now in arms in Scotland." The enthusiasts disclaimed this declaration as timid and time-serving. The royal army lay on one side the river Clyde, the rebels on the other, near Hamilton. The advanced guard of the latter were in possession of

 Bothwell

Bothwell bridge. After a fruitless attempt for a reconciliation, the royalists attacked and carried the bridge; the rebel infantry were surrounded and compelled to lay down their arms; the cavalry, with the general, made their escape.

Monmouth treated the vanquished with moderation. The prisoners were conducted to Edinburgh, where they were offered their liberty on condition of taking the bond not to bear arms against government; yet such was their obstinacy, that they refused these moderate terms, though they complained of the hardships they underwent. Two of their ministers were therefore executed; and five others of the most guilty were condemned to suffer on the spot where archbishop Sharpe had been assassinated.

Monmouth's return to London procured new alleviations of the punishment of the unfortunate whigs; they were reinstated in all the privileges of their former indulgences, and suffered to form themselves into synods and public assemblies.

James, duke of York, brother and presumptive heir of the king, had by this time rendered himself obnoxious by embracing a proscribed and execrated religion. The laurels he had earned under the illustrious Turenne were now faded: the popularity he had acquired as one of the best admirals of the British fleet, was forfeited for ever. The general discontent was inflamed to such a degree, that Monmouth, the spurious son of Charles, dared to aspire to the crown, and James for a time was obliged to retire into France.

But to the inexpressible surprise and consternation of his enemies, he appeared again all of a sudden

sudden at court, being recalled by his royal brother, who had been seized with a dangerous illness. The city of London was alarmed, and proceeded to very undutiful expressions of their resentment against the duke of York. This completed the disgrace of Monmouth with his father; he was not only stripped of all command in the army, but obliged to take out a pardon, and retire to Holland: at the same time the kingdom of Scotland was fixed upon, at the duke of York's own request, for his residence.

We cannot form a more true idea of the difficulties which James had to encounter at Edinburgh, than by the reception he met with on account of his religion. The burning of the pope in effigy was then first introduced into Scotland. The students of the college performed it with great spirit, and burnt down the house of the provost, who had opposed them; they were only punished with a short confinement and a temporary suspension of the college schools. With equal moderation did the duke proceed in the whole of his administration. The most obstinate whigs were permitted to meet in their own houses, and to worship God in their own way.

A party of covenanters, more furious than any of their predecessors, took arms under the conduct of Cameron and Cargyll, two ministers. They excommunicated the king, the duke, and all the ministry, consigning them formally into the hands of the devil, and formally disclaimed the regal power. Many of these fell in the field of battle; others were made prisoners, but preferred death to any acknowledgment of the king's authority. The best friends of liberty could find

no

no fault with the execution of these incurable and restless fanatics. Before the end of the year, the highland chieftains were also quieted, and thus all animosities seemed to be buried in Scotland. James took leave of the administration with the most cordial affection on both sides; he repaired to his brother's court, where he was represented by the Scottish council as the father of that country, and healer of all its political ailments: they assured his majesty that they would adhere faithfully to his brother's just rights. The duke soon returned to open the Scottish parliament. He was received with extravagant loyalty, and the parliament proceeded with alacrity to the most difficult task of reconciling the respective interests and rights of a future sovereign and subjects, widely differing in their religious tenets. For this purpose, two acts were devised: the first, a ratification of all former laws made in favour of the protestant religion, and against popery: the second, a declaration that no difference of religion ought to alter the line of hereditary succession. The duke declared to the members, that he did very heartily go along with them in providing for the security of the protestant religion. But Argyle, the son of a father deservedly hateful to the royal family, himself a correspondent of James's enemies in England and in Holland, formidable on account of his vast estates and ample jurisdiction, fatally distinguished himself by proposing to bind the brothers and sons of the king, as well as the subjects, to abjure the papal religion. His opposition was in vain. Both the acts passed, and received the royal consent.

The religion of the subject was not yet considered

sidered as sufficiently secured against the encroachment of a popish sovereign. It was necessary to exclude papists from all offices of trust and places under government. For this purpose, the parliament introduced that capital act concerning religion, called the test-act. By this it was proposed, that no person should be capable of holding any office in church and state; of electing, or being elected members of parliament or privy councillor, without taking an oath, declaring their firm adherence to the protestant religion established by law.

The court party could not prevent the introduction of a law so popular. They endeavoured therefore to embarrass it in its progress by adding contradictory clauses: such as condemning resistance of any sort, or under any pretence; renouncing the covenant and an exemption in favour of the king's brothers and sons.

The act in such a form pleased no party. The president of the session, who had framed the test, voted against it. Argyle remonstrated; and lord Belhaven moved for a provision against a popish or fanatic successor to the throne; but he was committed to prison, from whence he was liberated only on acknowledging his fault, and asking pardon on his knee. The act passed by a majority of seven; yet the sensible part of the nation refused it, and at last it was given up by all parties as indefensible. The earl of Argyle had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to James by his anti-papistical zeal. He was cast into prison for refusing the test, tried and condemned, but made

made his escape to Holland, where he was well received by the prince of Orange.

Lord Hatton was another whose overthrow was atchieved by the duke of York. Lauderdale, his brother, had not forfeited the king's favour, but was fast sinking into the grave. He died unlamented in the year 1682. Hatton had been the minister of his brother's unpopular power, and had been guilty of several acts of avarice and corruption. He was dismissed from his office and amerced in a sum of twenty thousand pounds.

The remnant of the old covenanters assembled again, and published a treasonable declaration against the test and all the measures of government. The magistrates of Lanerk were fined for not opposing the conventicle; some of the most enthusiastic were put to death; but this served only to increase the party. It is not to be denied, that many of these unhappy people were dangerous fanatics. Their preachers had persuaded them that they rendered themselves guilty of idolatry by saying "God save the king," because the king by declaring himself the head of the church had dethroned Jesus Christ. Many thousands of their followers to this day refuse to acknowledge the king because he has not taken the covenant.

The best expedient that could be suggested at once to free these unhappy people from a government inconsistent with their principles, and to rid the nation of endless trouble, was to settle a colony of them in Carolina. Cromwell had adopted a similar plan; many of their English brethren had emigrated under James and Charles I. The duke

duke of York, therefore, readily approved of this scheme, which was proposed by the leaders of the suffering dissidents. Accordingly, a treaty was set on foot between them and the English lords, proprietors of Carolina, which undoubtedly served for the purpose of meeting frequently with the mal-contents in England, who now began to throw their eyes on the Scotch in case they should be obliged to take arms.

All the measures of this administration hitherto mentioned are faithfully extracted from writers who favour most the subsequent revolution, and who on that account seek to brand the memory of the unfortunate James with disgrace and infamy. That revolution, however, stands on better grounds. In itself highly expedient, if not necessary to the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, in its effects productive of a constitution the admiration and envy of the world, it rests not on the personal merits or demerits either of James or William, but on the broad basis of the national will, the national rights and liberties.

It must be acknowledged, say these writers, that the affairs of Scotland were managed with unusual dexterity by the duke of York. He understood commerce and navigation, and proposed many plausible schemes for the improvement of trade and manufactures, which gained him popularity with the mercantile part of the nation. But James was an infatuated papist; he must needs have priests and jesuits about his court and person; his princess was a bigot, his confidential ministers, Perth and Melfort, were apostates from the protestant faith. His mildness was considered as dissimulation taught him by his priests; the toleration

toleration granted to the covenanters was the prelude of the same, and greater favours to be granted to the papists; the restoration had removed every barrier against arbitrary power, and the civil and religious liberties were soon to lie at the mercy of a popish despot.

In such circumstances it was impossible that the fears and mutual jealousies of James and his future subjects should not be wrought up to the highest pitch. A Russel and a Sidney conspired to vindicate the throne from the encroachments of a papist. They perished in the attempt; but in their fall many of the friends of liberty in Scotland were implicated. The detection of a treasonable correspondence with the English malcontents, with the prince of Orange, and the exiled Monmouth and Argyle, called forth the rage of government on the unfortunate covenanters with more oppressive measures than ever had been practised before. Orders were issued for fining, banishing, or executing presbyterians. The officers of the army were vested with powers for harrassing and even putting to death any person who would not disavow all treasonable declarations, or who would not answer the following question: "Do you own the king's authority?" In short, the southern counties were treated like a conquered country or a land of rebels. But how could it be otherwise, when a great proportion of the nation had views, principles, and interests directly opposite to those of the court?

A. D. 1685. James VII.

For some time James had been absent from Scotland, while these violent measures pursued in his name obliterated every remembrance of his first

first popularity. The death of his brother prevented his return, and called him to a throne from which he was soon to be precipitated by his own bigotry and the artful ambition of his daughter's husband.

Though the people of England, as well as the parliament of Scotland, made a surrender to the crown of all their constitutional rights, yet the history of this reign proves how little dependence is to be had on those professions when put to the test. King James's first proclamation clearly expressed his claims to a divine indefeasible right. It was signed by twenty-six privy councillors, among whom appear the most forward instruments of the revolution. He told his parliament, that the aggrandizing his power and authority was necessary for their safety. His parliament, in every act they passed, confirmed the king's despotic power, and declared their abhorrence of all resistance by deed, word, or writing, upon any pretext whatever. By counsels so servile or so treacherous as these, was this infatuated prince urged on to his ruin, firmly persuaded of the justice and omnipotence of his prerogative.

He was no stranger to the intrigues and ambition of his son-in-law. Monmouth, Argyle, Dalrymple, afterwards earl of Stair, Burnet, soon to to be bishop of Sarum, and all the English and Scotch exiles had found refuge with him. The king demanded of the prince of Orange that Monmouth should be dismissed out of Holland. William, not prepared to throw of the mask, complied, but secretly sent Monmouth money to support himself in Brussels, and to forward an expedition against his uncle. Argyle, burning with

with revenge, hastily embarked with Rumbold, an English republican, and sailed for the West of Scotland. On their arrival they were joined by a few; but the royal troops totally defeated them, and took Arygle himself prisoner. He was brought to Edinburgh, where he suffered death, more like a martyr of the laws and religion of his country than like a subject rebellious against his sovereign. A similar fate awaited Monmouth in England, where he had landed, declaring he came to rescue the nation from popery and arbitrary power.

These insurrections widened the breach between the unfortunate monarch and his disaffected subjects. Imprisonment, fines, or banishment were penalties the government thought necessary, and the subjects tyrannical. Hitherto no step had been taken in favour of the religion of the prince, nothing to alarm the wakeful jealousy of the established church. The wisest and most jealous of the Roman catholics deprecated every interference in their behalf: the pope himself foresaw in the downfal of James that of his religion; but the zeal of James outstript that of the pontiff and of all his adherents. It is, however, but just to remark, that all his unpopular measures were sanctioned, and more than probably recommended, by the very men who in a few months distinguished themselves in their ardour for the prince of Orange. Guided by their counsels more than by F. Petre or other jesuits, James began by proposing to his Scottish parliament a relaxation of the penal laws against the Roman catholics. The proposal was received but coldly, and the lords of the articles found it necessary to limit

limit the favour to the private exercise of religion, leaving in force all the penal laws against those who exercised it in public. Even in this form the bill could not pass; it was remitted for amendments to the lords of the articles, who returned it in a shape less exceptionable. The chancellor, however, doubtful whether the bill would pass the house, chose rather to drop it entirely.

Baffled in this first attempt, the king dissolved the parliament, and had recourse to other arbitrary means. After dismissing from the council those lords who opposed him, he filled their places with others of his own faith. Among these the most loyal was the duke of Gordon, a nobleman of great worth, but whose counsels were too moderate to prevail at court. Athol, a kinsman and friend of the prince of Orange, as lord privy seal, continued to wear the mask of loyalty to James, and to share his confidence. A proclamation appeared, wherein the king, in virtue of the powers vested in him by law, permitted the Roman catholics to exercise their religion in private, and ordered the chapel of Holyrood-house to be used for the catholic worship. Perth, the chancellor, imprudently permitted another in his own family. The whigs, irritated to frenzy at the appearance of the bugbear of popery, broke into his lordship's house, and committed dreadful devastations on the economy of his chapel. The court continued to issue new declarations in favour of presbyterians, of quakers, of Roman catholics, and at last, "by sovereign authority, prerogative, royal, and absolute power, suspended all penal and sanguinary laws for non-conformity to the religion established by law." The presbyterians of Edinburgh,

burgh, and their ministers all over Scotland, gladly accepted of this toleration, which put an end to all their sufferings, and sent up warm loyal addresses to London, thanking his majesty for his protection. A day of thanksgiving was observed on occasion of the queen's pregnancy, which was attended with new religious indulgencies: and the birth of a prince was celebrated with dutiful addresses and assurances of loyalty to his father.

But luckless son of a more luckless sire! The hour is come when the royal Stuart race must descend for ever from a throne which their ancestors had filled for ages. Regardless of kindred ties, ambitious William hastens to seize a sceptre ready to drop from the unskilful and feeble hand of his father. His zeal for protestancy, which scrupled not at suppressing it by the sword in other countries, urged him to its rescue when a crown was to be earned in its support. He came. The nobles, the gentry, the clergy, the army, the fleet, the nation, vied with each other in their eagerness to declare in favour of their long wished-for deliverer from popery, slavery, and arbitrary power. James saw himself abandoned by his counsellors, his bosom friends, his unnatural daughters. He fled; the fickle populace relented; they stayed the royal fugitive; once more they hailed him king. But his inflexible rival approached. It was signified to James that his palace must receive a new lord. The degraded monarch retired, and his constrained flight was pronounced an abdication of the throne. Scotland, late so loud in its professions of loyalty, the covenant late so grateful for its deliverance, hastened to worship the rising sun. The procla-

mations of William were received with enthusiasm all over the south. The official dispatches for the king were delivered into the hands of the prince. Athol, the confidential servant of James, having discarded his popish colleague, disbanded the troops at the moment when the falling monarch called for their aid. The people observed no decency towards their popish governors. The chief object of their fury was the king's chapel and a seminary for educating young gentlemen, which they demolished. The pope's effigy was burnt in every street, with loud cries of "No popish chancellor, no Melfort, no father Petre." Gordon, the only nobleman of Great Britain who openly espoused his royal master's cause, resolved to preserve for him the castle of Edinburgh. The other nobles voted an address to their deliverer, then resorted in crowds to court his favour, and to petition him to take the direction of affairs until a meeting of the states should be held. The prince ordered a convention of the states, with this proviso, that both electors and elected should be protestants. Indifferent as to modes of religion, he treated with presbyterians as well as episcopalians; but finding the bishops less tractable, he was obliged in the end to give them up in favour of presbytery.

The throne was declared vacant by the convention; on the grounds that James had never taken the coronation oath, prescribed by the laws; that he had forfeited his right by violating the constitution, by subverting the ends of government, and the protestant religion. William accepted of the crown tendered to him by a deputation from the states, and, with his spouse, took a coro-

a coronation oath, wherein he was required to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God. The king disclaimed all obligation of becoming a persecutor. The commissioners assured him, that neither the meaning of the oath, nor the laws of Scotland did import it. "Then" said his majesty, "I take the oath in that sense."

Thus was accomplished, without bloodshed, with an unanimity beyond example, a revolution which Britain still considers as the happiest period of its history. Happily for us, the civil contest to which this event afterwards gave birth, has long since been forgotten, amidst the beneficial effects, it has for more than a century produced.

The bishops in Scotland, more disinterested than their English colleagues, generously sacrificed their temporal interests, rather than swerve from a doctrine they had ever maintained. William found them too bigotted to their slavish notions of prerogative. On the other hand, the presbyterians were too turbulent and democratic to be easily reconciled to his regal power; but they were perhaps the majority of the nation, and certainly the friends of the revolution. The mind of William hesitated for a considerable time. The gallant Graham, viscount of Dundee, was the only nobleman that took the field for his exiled master. Mackay met him at the pass of Killicrankie, but victory declared for Dundee. He had made five hundred prisoners, and killed two thousand of his enemies, when he himself unfortunately perished, and with him, all the hopes of the jacobite party in Scotland.

The

The duke of Gordon bravely defended Edinburgh castle for three months.

At length he yielded up the castle upon honourable terms for the garrison, without insisting on any conditions for himself, which confidence, perhaps, served his cause with king William better than any positive stipulations could have done. The earl of Perth, attempting to make his escape out of the kingdom, was seized and cast into prison.

The violence of parties, rendered it no easy matter for the new king to regulate the civil and religious state of Scotland. Along with the crown, there had been presented to him, a list of the grievances of which the nation claimed redress. When the convention of the states was turned into a parliament, several bold votes were carried by a majority, to which the king thought proper to refuse the royal assent. A remonstrance on this procedure was drawn up, and sent to court, in the name of the majority of parliament. They stated their demands to be the abolition of episcopacy, of the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and of the committee called the lords of the articles. They claimed the nomination of the judges, the restoration of the expelled presbyterian ministers, and the exclusion from public offices, of persons obnoxious to the parliament. William disregarded these insolent demands, and treated the remonstrants with contempt. By such a conduct, he lost much of that popularity which he had experienced on his first arrival, and more than once endangered his crown. Reluctantly was he prevailed on to repeal the constitution of the lords of articles, to abandon

abandon the patronage and the supremacy over the church, and finally to re-establish presbytery.

The last measure was attended with dreadful consequences. The enthusiastic ministers, heated almost to frenzy with persecution, hastened to retaliate on the devoted episcopalians, all the ills the latter had inflicted on them: they drove the episcopal ministers, their wives and families from their houses into the fields, with a barbarity that would have disgraced the worst of infidels, and some of them perished with cold, hunger, blows, and other ill treatment. Such violence contributed greatly to alienate for ever the episcopal church from the government of king William. That party was too strong to be treated with injustice or contempt; the court found it necessary to listen to other councillors, and to introduce more moderate men into the administration: the presbyterians ceasing to be all powerful, thought that they could be no longer safe: the cares of politics, religion, and war filled every mind; trade and industry were in a great measure forgotten, and the general state of the country was far from flourishing; extreme disorder reigned among the highland clans: uncertain what master to obey, many of them chose to profess allegiance to an absent sovereign who could subject them to no controul.

William, after a fruitless attempt to gain the chieftains by pecuniary offers, issued a proclamation denouncing military execution against all who should not by the end of the year take an oath of fealty to him. We cannot overlook the despotism of enacting such bloody penalties in a country subject to laws, the infringement of which

which had so lately displaced a king from the throne.

Macdonald, of Glencoe, was pointed out to the king as a proper victim of regal vengeance; Breadalbine, the hereditary foe of the Macdonalds, procured a fatal order, signed and countersigned by the royal hand, for the massacre of the hated chieftain with his whole tribe. Having passed through the hands of Stair, secretary of state, and the Scottish privy council, these orders were transmitted to Livingston, commander in chief, and to Hill, governor of Fort-William.

Hill was the very person to whom Macdonald had proferred the submission required. Aware of his danger, and of the rage of his enemies, Macdonald had repaired in terms of law on the last day of the year, to take the oath of allegiance before the governor. Hill, a military officer, had granted him a letter of protection, remitting him at the same time to the sheriff of Argyleshire as the proper magistrate to administer the oath. Macdonald accordingly presented himself to the sheriff as soon as the deep snow would permit him to reach Inverary. The magistrate demurred at first to receive the submission as coming a few days too late: at length he yielded to the intreaties of Macdonald, who pleaded absolute necessity as the cause of his delay: the oath was accepted and a record of this transaction transmitted without delay to the clerk of the privy council. But the secret hand of a foe had effaced the deed from the books of the council, and the councillors disclaimed all knowledge of Glencoe's compliance.

Meanwhile Macdonald retired in fancied security

curity to his native valley to taste undisturbed the sweets of domestic life; but unexpectedly a military band appeared under the orders of Campbell of Glenlyon: the Macdonalds knew not whether to receive them as friends or foes: yet Campbell's assurances were so friendly, that all fears and distrust vanished, and the military guests were treated with the greatest hospitality. For more than a week there reigned nothing but joy and festivity throughout the vale: at last the younger Macdonalds gathered from the talk of the centinels the fate that threatened them; but before they could give warning to their father the massacre was begun. Glencoe's house was suddenly beset; he himself was murdered in his lady's arms; his wife was stripped naked by the soldiery who, with their teeth, tore off from her fingers the gold rings which she wore: she survived her husband but a few hours.

Another gentleman who had hospitably entertained Glenlyon himself was by that inhuman monster's orders, murdered before his face, with the protection of the government in his pocket.

The massacre then became general; boys, women, infants, men of fourscore, all who could not escape, were cruelly butchered: every cottage was set on fire, and many a poor wretch perished in the flames. The remaining females with their children were stripped and turned naked into the fields, where many perished with cold and hunger. The secretary, Dalrymple, had ordered all the passes in the valley to be secured, "so that none might escape, that the execution might be as terrible as possible." Fortunately a storm hindered Hamilton from seizing

the passes on the morning of the execution as he had concerted with Campbell, and two sons of old Glencoe, with a part of their people escaped from the rage of the murderers, Hamilton came in time to assist in burning the cottages, and in driving off the sheep and cattle of the sufferers, the dear-bought prize of assassination.

No deed of Willam's life has more deeply and indelibly sullied his fame: The jacobites at home, and the French and his other enemies abroad, loudly reprobated it as an instance of bloodthirsty tyranny, unequalled by the crimes of the most flagitious oppressors in any other country or age. Those members of the privy-council, who were themselves the least involved in the guilt of the slaughter, eagerly accused the advisers and agents by whom it could not be denied: the people of Scotland in general, whether presbyterians, episcopalians or papists, whether whigs or tories, could not regard the massacre of Glencoe without indignation and horror. By the odium which attended this transaction the hands of the revolution government were sensibly weakened. The Scottish parliament loudly demanded an inquiry for the purpose of vindicating the character of their sovereign, and of bringing to condign punishment the authors and advisers of so treacherous and inhuman a procedure: Yet the court appeared in no haste to unveil this mystery of iniquity. At length a commission of inquiry passed the great seal, and the parliament stooped to thank his majesty for this preliminary step which he owed to his own honour and to the ordinary course of justice. The guilt was sufficiently

ciently traced to Breadalbine, to Stair, and to the military officers employed by Stair as the inferior and immediate agents. Breadalbine pleaded his sovereign's permission and previous pardon for what he did; he was liberated after a short imprisonment: the censure of Stair was referred to the king and he was dismissed from his employments. The officers instead of being sent home to stand their trial as the parliament demanded, were promoted for their ready obedience to their commanders, which William considered as the first duty of a soldier.

During the general ferment occasioned by this more than tragical event, the nation was alarmed at the report of a descent on Scotland by king James: the parliament omitted nothing that could defeat it; six new regiments were levied; a supply of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was voted; an act passed for recruiting the royal navy; all members who refused the government oaths were expelled: the episcopal clergy forfeited all legal rights to their livings by refusing to acknowledge presbytery as the only church government in Scotland.

Yet the revolution was far from being consolidated in Scotland: though William was in fact sovereign of the kingdom and obedience to his government was therefore necessary, many who quietly paid this obedience, were willing to esteem James still their rightful sovereign to whose allegiance it became them to return, if his rights should ever again be effectually asserted. James, although an exile, had still a degree of power in the regulation of affairs: the Jacobites obeyed his orders, and listened to his recommendations in

many

many instances as if he had been still seated on the throne. Many of the chieftains in the North, found it necessary for their self-preservation to pay their court equally to the reigning and to the abdicated king. Refusing obedience to the government of William, they would have been liable to the fate of rebels; refusing to join in the intrigues of the Jacobites, they would have been in danger of perishing by the violence or the artful accusations of that party. Even the presbyterians, the grand strength of the revolution, often harrassed the administration with their murmurs and menaced it with their enmity.

Both parties agreed in one point, which was their country's independence on England. Being freed from religious persecution, they had leisure to contemplate the benefits of trade and colonization, such as this age regarded as the true sources of national wealth. Paterson, who had probably been the projector of the bank of England, gave the outlines of a plan for establishing a company trading to Africa, the East and West Indies. The whole nation entered into the scheme with inconceivable ardour. The secretary of state represented to the king that the only means to gain the Scots to his interest, was to second their views. In compliance with these demands, an act passed, which sanctioned the establishment of a Scotch trading company, with ample privileges. It is scarce to be credited how eagerly shares in this new company were sought for. The contributions of landholders, merchants, farmers, artizans, clergymen, the dowries of young ladies, the scanty fortunes of younger brothers, all swelled the stock of the new company to nearly 500,000l.

 Subscriptions

Subscriptions from England and from Hamburgh were prevented by the jealousy of the English East-India company. On that narrow neck of land which joins the two vast continents of America, there was a spot called Darien, unoccupied by the Spaniards, which presented an eligible site for a colonial settlement. Thither Paterson turned his views: but neither he nor his party were aware of the insurmountable opposition they were to meet with. The situation of the intended colony was such as in time to command the whole commerce of Spain and Holland; and England could not see with pleasure the establishment of a company which must greatly injure their flourishing trade. The king was too much of a Dutchman and of an Englishman to prefer the interests of Scotland to every other consideration. Both the houses of parliament strongly remonstrated with his majesty against the Scottish settlement. The king did not scruple to affirm that he had been imposed upon: he had been ill-served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedy might yet be found. The commons voted the directors of the Scotch company guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor for taking up money and administering an oath in England; and ordered the said directors to be impeached accordingly. The king directed his own minister at Hamburgh, where ships were building for the company, to present a memorial to the senate against the adventurers: he dismissed the Scottish ministry who had drawn him into this perplexing situation, and appointed another administration with orders to assemble the parliament.

A general dejection prevailed in Scotland at these

these tidings. His majesty's inconstancy, and the jealousy and injustice of the English parliament, were mentioned in not very becoming terms. But the country was oppressed with a severe famine, many had emigrated to Ireland, and there was still a hope of winning the favour of the court by dutiful measures.

The parliament, therefore, dissembling its uneasiness, voted 20,000l. for paying the sea and land forces; signed an association for the support of the government against the intrigues of the jacobites, as had been done in England, and obliged all persons in public trust to do the same. In the subsequent session the company presented a petition, by which it appeared, that notwithstanding every discouragement, matters were so far advanced, that if the new settlement did not succeed, Scotland must be ruined. The petition was favourably received by parliament, who voted a representation to the king, entreating him to support the rights of the company. A petition from the company seconded the address of parliament, and both contained very cutting reflections upon his majesty's conduct, under the plausible pretence of thanking him for his repeated assurances of protection: but William was not at leisure to attend to Scottish representations.

Meanwhile four ships had been built at Hamburgh; they were loaded with every kind of merchandize proper for the expedition, with artillery and military stores; twelve hundred seamen and soldiers, the flower of the nation, embarked under the conduct of Paterson, and proceeded for the isthmus of Darien, where they met with a favourable reception from the natives.

But these were the only friends they had in the world. The Spanish ambassador at St. James's, claimed Darien, as belonging to his master. The French offered to lend a squadron to dislodge the new settlers; the Dutch conjured his majesty to prevent their utter ruin, by destroying the infant colony; and the king ordered, under the severest penalties, no provisions, no necessaries of life to be sent them from Jamaica or any of his West-India islands. The first emigrants, by these measures, were so effectually distressed, that they were obliged to abandon the settlement. The loss of the ship, with the provisions, disabled a second expedition; and a third, more powerful than either, was destroyed by dissention: so that when the Spaniards attacked them, they were obliged to capitulate.

Thus ended the greatest commercial enterprize Scotland ever was engaged in. No interest, no profits, could be divided to the proprietors. At the time when expectations of opulence were most sanguine, every one of those who had adventured their little all, were reduced to the wretchedness of absolute want.

The clamours of the nation were so loud and incessant, that the king was obliged to have recourse to his English parliament to vindicate his character. The house of peers voted, that the settlement of the Scotch colony at Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade in England. This vote, carried by a small majority, was rejected by the commons. A multitude of pamphlets were published to soothe the national resentment; but other publications, calling for vengeance, were industriously circulated all over the kingdom.

The

The majority of parliament declared themselves against the court, and a deputation was appointed to carry the national grievances to the foot of the throne. His majesty condoled with them on their losses, and promised to do every thing in his power to promote the wealth and prosperity of his ancient kingdom. In a fresh address they represented their grievances to be such as called for a new revolution. Fortunately for William, the Scots had at that time quarrelled with their old allies the French. Enraged at the hostile conduct of France against their favourite settlement, they had entered into a general resolution against the use of French commodities. France resented the insult, so that the Scottish mal-contents were treated with scorn and neglect at the court of their exiled king.

At home the address of the king's commissioner saved appearances. He contrived to get the army kept up, and the supplies voted. But William and the revolution were odious among most of the people of Scotland. The death of the duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Anne, and heir-apparent to the British crowns, increased the hopes and wishes of the Jacobites. About this time the parliament of England had settled the crown on the family of the elector of Hanover, descendants of the only daughter of James I.: but Scotland refused to make any such declaration.

The death of the exiled monarch did not extinguish the hopes of the Jacobites. He left a son, whose rights were immediately acknowledged by France; in open violation of public faith, his titles were publicly proclaimed at St. Germain's. The English nation and king William were irritated to

to fury by this act of Louis. The rights of the pretender were solemnly abjured. The English ambassador left Paris, as the French minister departed from London. King William prepared for war, though sensible of his approaching dissolution; but amidst his exertions, by an accidental fall from his horse he broke his collar-bone; a fever ensued, which terminated his career, in the fifty-second year of his age, on the 28th of March, 1702.

A. D. 1702. Anne. The accession of queen Anne gave new hopes to the pretender and his adherents. During the late reign she was looked up to as the head of the tory faction. Having no children of her own, it was natural to suppose she would prefer her brother to a stranger, and thus another revolution, with as little bloodshed as the first, might replace the line of Stuarts on the throne. The queen composed her ministry chiefly of tories; but the administration of Scotland was a medley of both parties.

William had never dissolved the convention parliament. The members of this parliament assembled; they empowered the queen to nominate commissioners for treating of an union.

The commissioners repaired to London to treat with those appointed in England. The basis of the union being agreed on, her majesty paid a visit to the commission to encourage and quicken their deliberations. They were, however, soon broke off by a proposal from the Scots that the rights and privileges of the Darien company should be preserved. Such a demand at once put an end to the commission, and the hopes of an union again vanished.

A new

A new parliament was opened by the duke of Queensberry, who was of the whig party, but had gained the support of several Jacobites. The presbyterian establishment was again sanctioned. The duke of Hamilton, at the head of the country party, moved for recognising her majesty's title, and it was voted high treason to oppose her government. The earl of Home, leader of the Jacobites, presented a bill for the supply. This sudden turn of the Jacobites perplexed the commissioner. Argyle and the whigs declared they would agree to no proposal coming from that quarter; so that the supplies could not be obtained. The whigs insisted on a parliamentary ratification of the revolution, which they carried. The Jacobites, enraged at the commissioner for assenting to such an act, joined the country party, and both together carried through two bills of the greatest consequence against the court. The one declared, that after the queen's death, no future sovereign of England and Scotland should have the power of making war without the consent of parliament. The other, called the Act of Security, but to which the royal assent was refused, provided that the Scottish crown should not be conferred on the same person who was king of England; but under many limitations, which rendered the sovereign little better than the creature of parliament. This bill produced violent altercations, but when the earl of Marchmont moved to settle the succession in the house of Hanover, he was in danger of being committed to prison for so preposterous a motion, as the conditions and limitations for the successor were not yet settled. At last the session became so tumultuous, that the

the commissioner was obliged to prorogue the parliament without obtaining the necessary subsidies.

Queensberry was unfortunately implicated in jacobitical intrigues, and being suspected, was superseded in his commission, to make room for the marquis of Tweedale. This patriotic nobleman, together with Johnston, formed a new scheme of government, on the footing of the concessions that had been made by Charles I.

The army was in danger of being disbanded for want of pay, and the country exposed to an invasion. In this extremity the ministers brought in a bill of supply, to which they were obliged to tack a part of the security-act, derogatory as it was to the prerogative. By one of the clauses it was provided, that if the queen should die without issue, her successor should not be the person possessing the crown of England, unless before that time there should be a settlement made in parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of English councils. By another, the nobles and chieftains might arm and discipline their vassals for a month.

The English parliament considered these proceedings as a prelude of hostilities. They resolved to treat the Scots as aliens; to arm the northern counties, and to cut off all commercial intercourse between the two nations. At the same time they saw more than ever the necessity of an union, even at the expence of granting indemnity to the Scottish trading company; and they addressed the queen to nominate commissioners for that purpose.

The office of high commissioner was now entrusted to the duke of Argyle, a nobleman of distinguished popularity among the whig party.

Tweedale

Tweedale and his friends formed what was called the flying squadron, professing themselves independent patriots.

The treaty of union was brought on the carpet, and at last carried, notwithstanding a vigorous protest.

The remaining part of public business went smoothly on. The parliament voted a supply of 50,000l. and then adjourned.

The new commissioners met on the 16th of April, at the Cock-pit; and on the 22d of July the whole of the articles of the union were completed and signed by all the Scottish commissioners excepting one, who was Lockart, of Carnwath. Next day they were presented to the queen, who received them with great satisfaction.

The great work was still incomplete, without the ratification of both parliaments, and the consent of the sovereign.

At length the duke of Queensberry came to open the parliament; threats of insurrection obliged government to order a detachment of the guards into the city, and to canton the army in the vicinity of the capital. The high commissioner marched through the streets, guarded by double lines of horse and foot. A letter from the queen, an address from the commissioner, and a speech from the chancellor, opened the meeting. Care was taken to inform the presbyterians that their establishment should remain inviolate. The articles of the union were printed and made public.

To all resistance from without and from within, the ministry continued to oppose their invincible phalanx of a sure majority. How this majority was obtained, it is not so easy to determine. Historians

torians have attributed it to corruption. By one of the articles it was provided, that as an equivalent for the customs and excise money of Scotland, henceforth applicable to the payment of the English national debt, Scotland should receive the sum of 398,085l. 10s. sterling.

That this money should be applied—

1st. To pay the national debt of Scotland.

2d. To refund the whole capital stock of the Darien company.

3d. To compensate losses incurred by the reduction of coin.

4th. To form a fund for encouraging fisheries, manufactures, and other national improvements.

On the credit of this equivalent, the English exchequer advanced 20,000l. during the last session of the Scottish parliament; 12,000l. were expended for the commissioner and his table. Scotland must have been poor and venal indeed if the remaining 8000l. were the price paid for her sovereignty—her parliament—her independence as a nation.

Let us rather suppose th t the victorious party did not sacrifice their own importance as legislators of a free people—did not persist in exposing themselves to their country's hate, without an entire conviction of the expediency and necessity of so momentous a step, without anticipating what we now witness, that posterity would bless the day when two rival nations were linked by their unshaken patriotism in one indisoluble tie. During the lengthened discussion in parliament, several tumults arose in Edinburgh, which were suppressed by the guards. In the West, the Cameronians, deeming their cause to be that of heaven, rose in

arms,

arms, took possession of the town of Glasgow, and drove from the city the magistrates, who had refused to address parliament against the union.

On the intelligence of the insurrection, a party of dragoons was immediately dispatched from Edinburgh. The Cameronians had proceeded as far as Kilsythe, on their way to the capital, but hearing of the military marching against them, they retreated in haste to Glasgow, and dispersed. The dragoons met with no resistance: they seized two artizans, the ringleaders of the mob, and conducted them prisoners to Edinburgh.

On the third and last reading of the union treaty, the first article, as being most important, was debated during two days. Great eloquence was displayed on both sides. At last the majority declared in favour of the article in debate.

The second article, which conferred the crown on the house of Hanover, was strongly resisted by the Jacobites, in particular by the duke of Hamilton, the next in succession. No better success attended this attempt: the second article was carried, as were the third and fourth, however keenly contested.

Despairing now of parliamentary success, the opposition had recourse to the expedient of assembling in Edinburgh all the freeholders averse to the union, with a view to address the commissioners to urge the treaty no further. This plan misgave through the weak conduct of the duke of Hamilton. It was betrayed to the ministers, and the gentry were forbid by proclamation from assembling.

The last and only remaining remedy for the minority was to depart from parliament, violently protesting

protesting against their unconstitutional proceedings. The duke of Hamilton earnestly recommended this measure, and undertook to make the motion. Had this secession actually taken place, the ministerial party was undone. They could not have withstood so respectable a body, backed by the whole nation; and had agreed in that case to abandon their scheme as impracticable. But Hamilton once more betrayed his cause by refusing to make the motion, though he seemed ready to second it.

By his refusal their design was utterly frustrated. At length, on Thursday the 16th of January, 1707, the whole articles of the union were, without any material alteration, approved by a legal majority, and the lord high commissioner touching the act with the sceptre, sanctioned it with that consent of the crown which was requisite to give it in Scotland the force of a law *.

The treaty of union thus finally ratified by the Scottish parliament, was, without delay, transmitted to London, where it was equally honoured by the sanction of the parliament and the royal consent. The Scottish parliament was, on the 28th of April, dissolved, never more to be assembled. The Scots and English were henceforth to be one people.

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* In this account of the union we have chiefly followed Heron's History of Scotland, a modern work of great merit.

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

General Description of the Country. Its first Inhabitants, their Manners and Customs. The Introduction of Christianity. View of the State of Ireland previously to the Invasion under Henry the Second.

THE noble island of Ireland is situated to the west of Great Britain in nearly a parallel latitude, and consequently possesses a similarity of climate with the sister isle. Ireland is about three hundred miles in length, and about one hundred and sixty at the greatest breadth. The face of the country is pleasing, being level, fertile, and abundant in pasturage. One striking feature of the soil consists in the calcareous stones, which appear at no great depth from the surface, even in the most flat and fertile parts, but which produce no injury to its fertility. It has been observed by a very competent judge*, that the quantity of land cultivated in Ireland exceeds in proportion that of England. The mountainous chains in this island are neither numerous nor important; but an upland ridge divides the country from the N. E. to the S. W. giving birth to several rivers. Among the chief rivers of Ireland the Shannon is pre-eminent. This noble river rises from the lake of Allen, and passing through two other large lakes, Lough Ree and Lough Derg, afterwards extends below Limerick into a vast estuary or

* Arthur Young.

firth about sixty miles in length and from three to ten in breadth; and almost through the whole of its course is so deep and wide as to afford an easy navigation. There are many other rivers in Ireland, but they are small in comparison with the Shannon. The lakes of Ireland are numerous, and some of them extensive. The chief lake of fresh water is that of Earn, which exceeds thirty British miles in length, and twelve in its greatest breadth; it is divided by a narrow outlet from the southern part into the northern of about four miles in length. Another remarkable feature of this country is formed by the bogs, or moors. Boate divides these into several genera and species, forming an elaborate scale of sterility. It is remarkable that ornaments of gold, and other relics of antiquity, have at different times been discovered at great depths below these bogs, which with other circumstances seem to indicate that they are of very remote origin. The author* of a late valuable work, to whose indefatigable researches and judicious opinions we have been under infinite obligations in the compilation of the present history, makes the following remarks upon these bogs, or moors: "Many unsatisfactory conjectures have been made of the original causes and formation of bogs in

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* Francis Plowden, esq.—The public are indebted to this gentleman for "*A Historical Review of the State of Ireland, from the Invasion of that Country under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain on the 1st of January, 1801. 2 vols. 4to. Egerton*:" a work which has thrown considerable light upon a history hitherto involved in great obscurity; has reconciled many seeming contradictions; and has stripped the writings of former historians of that false colouring which their gross partialities have given to the events which they have recorded.

Ireland:

Ireland: every hypothesis which goes to account for them from the conflux of rain, rivers, and spring-waters rotting and rendering the surface of the soil spungy; or from the neglect of cultivation, or any other gradual cause, seems untenable, if we credit the daily discoveries made under the boggy substance of every species of trees, always lying in the same direction (from west to east); hazle-trees in full bearing, the furrowed relics of tillage, culinary utensils still filled with unctuous substance, all sorts both of military and civil instruments useful and ornamental, of massy gold, silver, brass, and composition, all of equal and great antiquity: all which circumstances bespeak some sudden convulsion of nature, and that in the summer season, which overwhelmed the country and at once encrusted the then cultivated surface, with all that was upon it, with this spungy substance, the careful removal of which at this day demonstrates a former state of cultivation and opulence. The silence of all historians upon such a sudden calamity, or visitation of God upon the land, is certainly a strong presumption against this hypothesis." Whatever may have been the cause of these bogs, it is hoped that the hand of industry and the improvements of modern agriculture will in time remove them.

The animals of Ireland differ little, if at all, from those of England. Venerable Bede mentions the numerous herds of deer with which Ireland abounded, and of its abundance in honey and in milk. In various parts of the island enormous horns have been found of the extent of fourteen feet from tip to tip, furnished with brow antlers, and weighing three hundred pounds; supposed to have belonged

to a species of deer now extinct, and which animal must have been about twelve feet high.

Ireland formerly superabounded, and certainly does still, if they were properly explored and worked, with mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, tin and coals. Considerable masses of native gold have recently been discovered in the county of Wicklow, to the south of Dublin. These were found in a brook running west to east to the river of Avonmore, where it is joined by the river Aghran; and on a declivity of the mountain called Croughan Kinshally, about seven miles west of Arklow, and six south-west of the noted copper-mines of Cronbane. In the year 1796 the parliament of Ireland voted one thousand pounds to be applied towards making an experiment for working this newly discovered gold mine; and it is said that a very massy vein has lately been found, which promises to be of great advantage to the country.

Among the natural curiosities of Ireland, the celebrated lake of Killarney deserves particular notice. This picturesque expanse of water is about ten miles in length, and from one to seven in breadth: it is divided into three parts called the Upper, the Lower, and Mucruss lake; and is surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains, clothed with trees whose verdure is contrasted with intervening rocks. The arbutus, with its scarlet fruit and white blossoms, here vegetates in great luxuriance. Cascades and other rural objects complete the beauty of the scene. The Giant's Causeway is a surprising collection of basaltic pillars, situated about eight miles N. E. from Coleraine. The adjacent coast is verdant, but precipitous;

tous; and from it the causeway projects into the sea to an unknown extent. The part explored is about six hundred feet in length; the breadth is from 240 to 120: the height is from 16 to 36 feet above the level of the strand. It consists of many thousand pillars, mostly in a vertical position; some of them high, others broken, and for a considerable space of an equal height, so as to form a pavement. They are closely compacted together; though the form be various, trigonal, tetragonal, pentagonal, hexagonal, and heptagonal: the most numerous are the pentagonal. The pillars are rarely composed of one entire piece, but mostly consist of short or long joints, either plane or alternately concave and convex. The pillars are from fifteen to twenty-four inches or more in diameter. Towards the N. L. in the side of a hill, is what is called the Organ, consisting of fifty pillars, that in the middle being forty feet high, the others gradually diminishing. Similar pillars are also found a mile and a half inland, four miles to the west of the Giant's Causeway, and at the Capes of Bengore and Fairhead. The basalt of the Giant's Causeway is of a very compact texture, and the angles of the pillars have preserved their sharpness though exposed to the sea for perhaps two or three thousand years.

The pride of ancestry has a peculiar effect upon the Irish. No nation, in fact, now in existence, can boast of such certain and remote antiquity. It has been a mean and pitiful prejudice in too many English writers to endeavour to throw discredit upon the early parts of the Irish history. That many fabulous accounts are to be found in the Irish annals, is undoubtedly true; but the possession at the present hour of a vernacular language, which

was in general use above three thousand years ago, is a corroboration of their antient descent, that the people of Ireland can singly boast among all the nations of the universe. There appears no reason to doubt the fact, that the ancestors of the Irish were Scythians *; or, as they were afterwards called, Phœnicians. That the Carthaginians were a Phœnician colony has never been doubted; and like other colonies they carried their language with them. Plautus, who wrote his plays in the second Punic war, introduces into his *Pœnulus* the character of *Hanno*, a Carthaginian, into whose mouth he puts several Carthaginian or Phœnician sentences, which had ever before baffled the erudition of the greatest scholars to decipher, until lately that they have become perfectly intelligible, through the labours of an able proficient in the Irish language †.

Besides

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* By an easy and simple transition from Σκυθοι, Scythians, they were antiently called *Scoti*; which appellation in process of time remained only appropriate to North Britain; which was inhabited by a colony from Ireland. Venerable Bede generally terms the Irish *Scots*.

† The ingenious and learned lieut.-col. Vallancy has given an accurate collation of the Punic speeches with the Irish as now spoken. The curious reader will be gratified with the following specimen of this wonderful similarity, or rather identity, of the Phœnician and Irish languages.

Carthaginian as in Plautus.

Bythlym mothym noctothij nelechthanti diasmachon.

Proper intervals arranged by colonel Vallancy.

Byth lim! mo thym nocto thii nel ech-anti dias machon.

Irish.

Beith liom! mo thyme noctaithe niel ach anti daise maccoinne.

Be

Besides the common use of the Phœnician language by the native Irish, there are other proofs, which make it no longer doubtful that a Phœnician colony settled in Ireland. The warlike instruments which have been found in Ireland exactly resemble the weapons discovered about Cannæ, some of which are in the British Museum: the brazen swords and spears are of the same form and substance, being a composition of brass and tin. Proofs of the similarity of habits, manners, and customs, between the colony and the mother country, might be adduced from the historians of each. Suffice it however to remark, that to this day the Irish peasants have an annual custom of lighting upon certain hills, on the eve of midsummer, what they still call *Bel's fire*, though totally ignorant that Bel was the God of their Phœnician ancestors.

All historians agree that hordes of Scythians emigrated to Egypt, and from thence to Spain; and there has been no one objection of any force brought against the Irish annalists, who are unanimous in their assertions that a colony of these

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Be with me! my fears being disclosed, I have no other intention but recovering my daughter.

Carthaginian and Irish without the change of a word or letter.

Han done filli hanum bene, filli in mustine.

Whenever she (Venus) grants a favour, she grants it linked with misfortunes.

Carthaginian.

Meipsi et en este dum et a larn na cestín um.

Irish.

Meisi et an eiste dam et alaim na cestin um.

Hear me and judge, and do not too hastily question me.

Plowden's Ireland.

Scythians

Scythians from Spain settled in Ireland. The Irish have always prided themselves upon having kept up a longer succession of monarchs than any other kingdom of the world. This race of kings they call *Milesian*, all of them having descended from *Heber*, *Eremon*, and *Ith*, the three sons of Milesius, who headed the expedition from Spain.

The government introduced by the first settlers was of a peculiar cast. They divided the country into four provinces, namely, Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, each of which had its king; and over these four provincial kings was placed a supreme monarch. The whole formed a pentarchy. To the supreme they all paid tribute, as a mark of subjection; but in all other respects each king was absolute and independent within his own province. The monarch had always had some demesne lands annexed to his royalty; but their great favourite Swathal separated the district of Meath from the other provinces, and appointed it for the appanage of the monarch. This territory formed one part of his revenue; which was completed by provincial contributions of hay, corn, and cattle; and if his emergencies required further subsidies, they were raised by occasional taxes, voted and imposed by a general assembly of the nation.

Not only the throne, but all the posts of honour and profit were elective, out of particular septs or families; purity of blood therefore carried with it more real consequence in Ireland than it did in any other nation of Europe. Thus, although the monarchy was elective, and although it seldom went in an immediate lineal descent; yet from the landing of Milesius to the mission of St. Patrick, including a space of about fifteen hundred years, and from that period to the invasion of Ireland un-

der

der Henry II., being about six hundred and forty years, it is said, no one filled the seat of monarchy who was not a descendant of one of the three sons of Milesius. In the choice of their monarch, seniority and proximity of blood had great weight, but did not preponderate. Military talents outweighed civil accomplishments; the previous reception of the order was an indispensable qualification; and any species of personal imperfection, or even casual deformity, created absolute ineligibility.

The grand Milesian monarchy was a model of the four great provincial and the numerous other smaller kingdoms into which the island was subdivided. Besides the universal monarch of the island, and the four kings of the provinces, there were kings of Offaly, Limerick, Cork, &c.; so that every provincial sovereign had under him as many kings as there were septs or families of distinction within the province. The grand epoch of political eminence in the early history of the Irish is the reign of their great and favourite monarch *Ollam-Fodlah*, who reigned, according to Keating, about nine hundred and fifty years before the Christian æra. Under this monarch was instituted the great *Fes*, at *Teamor*, or *Tarah*, which was in fact a triennial convention of the states, or a parliament, the members of which consisted of the Druids and other learned men, who represented the people in that assembly. Thus the monarch of the provincial and other kings, who had the executive power in their hands on one side, and the philosophers and priests, with the deputies of the people, on the other, formed the whole of the antient legislature. When this great council was convened, previously to their entering upon business, they sat down to sumptuous entertainments for six days successively.

sively. Very minute accounts are given by the Irish annalists of the magnificence and order of these entertainments; from whence we may collect the earliest traces of heraldry that occur in history, and deduce that partiality for family distinctions which to this day forms a striking feature of the Irish character. In order to preserve regularity and decorum among the great number and variety of the members who met together on these occasions, when the banquet was ready to be served up, the shield-bearers of the princes and other members of the convention delivered in their shields and targets, which were readily distinguished by the coat of arms emblazoned on them: these were arranged by the grand marshal and principal herald, and hung upon the walls on the right side of the tables; and upon entering the apartments each member took his seat under his respective shield or target, without the slightest confusion. The first six days were not spent in revelry and excess, but devoted to the examination and arrangement of the historical antiquities and annals of the kingdom; they were publicly rehearsed and privately examined by a select committee of the most learned members. When they had received the sanction of the assembly they were transcribed into the authentic chronicle of the nation, which was called the Register, or Psalter of *Tarah*. This singular caution to prevent the introduction of any falsity or misrepresentation into their national history, would have furnished posterity with the most authentic relations of this antient and interesting kingdom, had not the Danes, in their frequent invasions of Ireland during the ninth and tenth centuries, destroyed these books, and all other books and monuments of antiquity of which they obtained possession;

session; and had not the still more fatal and ungenerous policy of the English, from Henry Plantagenet to James I., exerted every means of art and force to complete the destruction of whatever chance or care had preserved from the ravages of the Danes.

After all, notwithstanding the caution of the antient legislature against the prostitution of their history, few annals are so much overcharged with fable as are those of Ireland. Nor will this appear marvellous, when it is stated, that besides those historiographers who submitted their productions to the investigation of the Fes, every family of consequence retained bards to celebrate and record their actions. These private histories being written by dependents of the family, and composed in verse, were filled with all that poetical fire and fancy could suggest, to raise, to flatter, and provoke the passions. Large and ample revenues were assigned to the public heralds, physicians, harpers, and bards; and although these posts were hereditary, yet the eldest son did not regularly succeed to the employment and estate, unless he were the most accomplished of his race in his particular profession. The arts of poetry and music were cultivated among them to a degree of extravagance. The manners of the people were engrafted on this stock. The arts themselves were considered as of divine origin, and ignorance of them was judged a sufficient exception to any man's elevation in the state. The history of their nation, all the acts of their legislators, and all their systems philosophical, metaphysical, and theological, were conveyed in the harmony of sound and verse. They were sung by the bards and crotaries of their princes with

vocal

vocal and instrumental accompaniments. Besides the other duties of their profession, the bards acted as heralds: clad in white flowing robes, and accompanied by musicians, they marched with their chiefs at the head of their armies, which they animated by martial strains. They also sung the funeral panegyrics of those who fell honourably in battle.

The sources of information being thus imperfect, and abounding with so many absurd fables, we pass over in silence this first period of the history of Pagan Ireland, so far as it relates to any particular event or series of events. Enough has been said to demonstrate to every impartial reader, that Ireland was colonized by a civilized, a learned, and warlike people, nearly one thousand years before the birth of Christ; and that during that period they were characterized by their robust frame of body, by their valour, by their pride of ancestry, by the elevation of their imagination, and their enthusiastic love of glory.

The obscurity, however, of this period ended with the introduction of Christianity; when a new set of historians or annalists sprang up, new repositories of learning were established, foreign connections were much extended, and the learned languages were brought into use. All respectable writers antient and modern agree, that the Gospel was first preached in Ireland by St. Patrick, who was sent thither with twenty other missionaries by Celestine bishop of Rome, in the fifth century of the Christian æra. Whether the facility with which the divine doctrines of the missionaries were propagated were, as some assert, in a great degree owing to the superior state of letters and other civil cultivation

cultivation in Ireland, is now difficult to determine. The fact however is certain, that in no land did the Gospel make such rapid progress, or was so slightly opposed at its first introduction: and it is remarkable, that within the short space of five years after St. Patrick had opened his mission, he was summoned to sit and assist in the convention or parliament of Tarah. He was appointed of the famous Committee of Nine, to whom was entrusted the reform of the antient civil history of the nation, so as to render it instructive to posterity. Christian schools and seminaries were established in opposition to those of the Druids; and Paganism declined in proportion as the institutions and doctrines of Christianity flourished; insomuch that from the fifth to the latter end of the ninth century the Irish nation was pre-eminently distinguished in Europe as the chief seat of literature and science. Venerable Bede not only confirms this fact, but states, that the youth of the most respectable families of every nation in Europe were sent to Ireland to receive their education, on account of the pre-excellence of the learning of the Irish clergy. The same writer adds, that such of the Anglo-Saxons as went over to Ireland, either for education, improvement, or for an opportunity of living up to the strict ascetic discipline, were maintained, taught, and furnished with books, without fee or reward. Several illustrious persons received their education there. Among the other virtues which the establishment of Christianity fostered and extended among the Irish, the generous spirit of hospitality, for which from the earliest periods they were characterized, was peculiarly enforced. "The most holy men of heaven," say the Irish laws, "were

"were remarkable for hospitality; and the Gospel commands us to receive the sojourner, to entertain him, and to relieve his wants."

We have thus seen that the Irish were a people endowed with great powers of body and mind, lovers of the arts and sciences, and enthusiastic encouragers of talent, attached to religion and its ministers, and, in a word, supereminently gifted by nature with all those active principles of public virtue, which, if properly directed, ensure the attainment of national happiness, prosperity, and importance. But unhappily it has ever been the bane of Ireland to be distracted with civil discord.

The latter part of the Irish history, immediately preceding the invasion of the kingdom by the English, presents one continued scene of intestine dissension, turbulence, and faction. They experienced during several centuries the miserable effects resulting from their want of union among themselves, in the success of the repeated formidable invasions of their island by the Danes, Norwegians, and other Scandinavian adventurers, who roved about in search of settlements. Ireland became to these piratical hordes a most inviting object, as the country was fertile, and the inhabitants by their intestine divisions rendered feeble defenders of their soil. Such was the situation of Ireland, with little variation of feature in its history, during a period of nearly four hundred years. About the year of Christ 1166 Roderic O'Connor, of undoubted *Milesian* stock, was raised to the monarchy with the general consent of the nation. His prospect of a happy reign was soon clouded by the revolt of several petty kings and princes who had sworn allegiance to him. Scarcely had he re-

duced them to obedience, when he was called upon by O'Rourke, king of Breffny, to assist him in avenging himself of Dermod, king of Leinster, by whom he had been grossly injured. While O'Rourke was absent on a pilgrimage, his wife, who had long conceived a criminal passion for the king of Leinster, eloped with him, and lived in public adultery. There could not have existed a greater excitement to revenge in the breast of an Irish prince, whose spotless purity of blood was their highest glory. O'Rourke succeeded in rousing the monarch to avenge his cause, and immediately led a powerful force to his assistance. The whole kingdom took fire at the perfidy and iniquity of Dermod, who looked in vain for support from his own subjects. He was hated for his tyranny, and the chieftains of Leinster not only refused to enlist under his banner in such a cause, but openly renounced their allegiance. Dermod, thus deserted by his subjects, was inflamed with rage at the disappointment, and resolved to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of his personal revenge. Unable to meet the approaching storm, he took shipping secretly, and repaired to Henry II. of England, who was then in France, to solicit his protection and aid in accomplishing his revengeful intentions.

Dermod made a most humiliating address, and canting hypocritical representation of his sufferings, to Henry, whom he found in Aquitaine; promising that, if through his powerful interposition he should recover his lost dominions, he would hold them in vassalage of Henry and his successors for ever. Such an offer accorded well with the ambitious views of the British monarch; but his situation at that time prevented him from engaging personally

in the cause of the guilty fugitive. He however encouraged him by promises of vigorous support, and gave him letters of credit and service to such of his subjects as might be willing to assist him in the recovery of his dominions. With these credentials Dermod repaired to Bristol, which was in those days the chief port of communication between England and Ireland.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Invasion of Ireland under Henry II. to the Reign of Henry VIII. of England.

THAT Henry had conceived the design of invading Ireland previously to the degrading application of Dermod, is unquestionable. A very superficial knowledge of the state of Ireland at that period was sufficient to excite the ambition of a powerful and popular sovereign, in those days when it was deemed reproachful to a prince to be unemployed in some scheme of gallant enterprise.

A pretence alone was wanting to give some colour of justice to the design; and the courtiers of Henry were fertile in their invention of imaginary claims to the throne, which they asserted the kings of England possessed by inheritance from the time of Arthur, and even earlier. But the sagacity of Henry, or the suggestion of an interested ecclesiastic, soon supplied the necessary pretence for a free indulgence of his ambition. The papal power was at this epoch gradually advancing to a formidable height, and extending its influence even to the extremity of the British islands. Imagination can scarcely invent a pretext why the bishop of Rome should exceed the line of his spiritual power by the formal assumption of temporal authority over independent states. Such, however, has been the magnitude of the power exercised by the popes, that we are not more astonished at the arrogance and impiety of their decrees, than at the abject and humiliating submission of emperors,

kings, and people, to their assumed supremacy in the temporal concerns of the world. The reigning pope cotemporary with Henry was Adrian IV. He was an Englishman, and therefore more blameable in prostituting his spiritual authority to the wicked purpose of assissting the ambition of his own sovereign. In resorting to the power of the pope on this occasion, Henry chose for his agent John Salisbury, his chaplain, who acted with all the zeal and diligence of a dependent looking forward to the favours of his employer. He represented to Adrian that the inhabitants of Ireland were sunk into the most wretched and abject state of corruption in morals and in religion; that Henry, zealous for the honour and enlargement of God's kingdom, had conceived the pious design of erecting it in that unhappy country, and as ready to devote himself and all his powers to this meritorious service; imploring the benediction of the pontiff, and requesting his permission and authority to enter Ireland to reduce the disobedient and corrupt, to eradicate all sin and wickedness, to instruct the ignorant, and spread the blessed influence of the Gospel in its purity and perfection; promising at the same time to pay a yearly tribute to St. Peter from the land thus to be reduced to his obedience, and that of the holy see. It is not possible in the present enlightened times to reflect seriously upon such a tissue of profane hypocrisy without the utmost horror. Henry did not foresee all the effects of such an application to the pope; while the more sagacious and politic Adrian secretly exulted in a measure which so unequivocally recognised his authority, and favoured his impious and enormous claims. A correspondence had been opened between the Irish ecclesiastics and the church of Rome

Rome about four years before the accession of Henry to the English throne, and the preeminence of Rome was formally acknowledged. Adrian, therefore, eagerly embraced this opportunity of extending the papal dominion in Ireland, as well as conciliating the friendship of Henry; and a bull was framed immediately, fully conformable to the wishes and purposes of that king. This bull, which remains a striking memorial of the profligacy and impiety of papal usurpation, contains, among other blasphemous instructions, the following:---" We, therefore, with that grace and acceptance suited to your pious and laudable design, and favourably assenting to your petition, do hold it good and acceptable, that for extending the borders of the church, restraining the progress of vice, for the correction of manners, the planting of virtue, and the increase of religion, you enter this island, and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honour of God and welfare of the land; and that the people of this land receive you honourably, and reverence you as their lord: the rights of their churches still remaining sacred and inviolable, and saving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny from every house." This bull was presented to Henry with a ring, the token of his investiture as rightful sovereign of Ireland.

At the period, however, when this bull was dated, Henry was engaged in repressing the insurrection of his brother Geoffry, and in supporting his own claims to Anjou. He had also a sufficient employment for his abilities in regulating his own affairs in England. The unsettled state of Wales, and the long and painful contest which Henry maintained against Thomas Becket and the church, were additional motives to induce the ambitious

monarch to suspend the execution of nis designs against Ireland; which would probably never have been put in execution, had not accident, or rather the factions and competition of an unorganised people, opened a way for the English arms to penetrate into and subdue their distracted country. Henry, though invested with papal authority for the purpose, would perhaps never have invaded Ireland, had not the intestine broils of the Irish princes, or kings, as they were termed, severed those resources which ought to have been united for defence, and driven Dermod to invite that interference of a foreign power, which ever is and must be fatal to the liberties and independence of a nation. Such was the situation of Ireland, and such was the position of Henry, when Dermod proffered at the feet of the English monarch to hold his dominions in vassalage of him, and acknowledge him his liege lord, if by his means he should himself be reinstated in them. This flattering petition awakened the slumbering hopes of Henry, and revived the flattering ideas which he had formerly conceived, of conquering Ireland. His own immediate affairs were, however, still much perplexed. Becket had then recently afforded him a further proof of his violence and obstinacy, while the insurrection of his subjects in the provinces of France, secretly fomented by Louis, engaged him incessantly in war and negotiation. It was, therefore, his obvious policy to act as he did, and to receive the proffered allegiance of the Irish prince in a gracious manner, to give him every encouragement and assurance short of his personal appearance in his cause, and to grant him those letters of license and credence to his subjects in England, who might be willing to adventure on an expedition

expedition against Ireland under the banners of king Dermod. The fugitive prince, highly elated by his reception, repaired from Aquitaine to England, and upon his arrival at Bristol made public the letters of Henry, repeated his piteous story, and lavished promises upon all who would aid the friend and vassal of their sovereign. The cause or the character of Dermod must, doubtless, have obtained a bad report in England; or such was the spirit of enterprise and adventure in these days, the days of the crusades, that but for such a reason, it may be presumed, multitudes would have flocked to his standard; whereas not one individual was found to listen to his flattering promises, or to take arms in his cause.

A month elapsed without any prospect of obtaining succours, and Dermod began to abandon all hopes of restoration, when he was persuaded to address himself to Richard earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow on account of his skill in archery. Richard was distinguished by his military genius as much as by his station and alliances: he was attended by a powerful train of followers, whose affection he had gained by his courtesy and generosity; but being estranged from the royal favour, and retired and unemployed, his fortune dissipated, his distresses urgent, and his prospects gloomy, he was pointed out to Dermod as likely to comply with his overtures, and the Irish prince accordingly pressed him with the most urgent solicitations. He even engaged to give him his daughter Eva in marriage, and to make him heir to his kingdom, though sensible that by the antient customs of his country he had no power to nominate his heirs. Richard was overcome by these seducing offers, and agreed to assist Dermod with a considerable

considerable force in the ensuing spring, provided he could obtain the king's particular license and approbation.

Elevated by the success of this negotiation, Dermod conceived that he had already most effectually provided for his restoration, and proceeded to St. David's in South Wales, intending to return privately to Ireland. In Wales he added to his adherents Robert Fitz-Stephen, an active, brave, and skilful soldier, who covenanted to engage, with all his followers, in the service of Dermod, who, on his part, promised to cede to Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitzgerald the entire dominion of the town of Wexford, with a large adjoining territory, as soon as he should be reinstated in his rights. Such was the origin of an invasion which in the event proved of so great importance. A criminal and despised fugitive, driven from his province by faction and revenge, obtained in this manner the assistance of a few adventurers in Wales, whom youthful valour, or their ruined fortune, led to seek for advantageous settlements in Ireland. In the mean time Dermod embarked in disguise for Ireland, where he landed in safety, and, passing through the quarters of his enemies, spent the winter in the monastery at Ferns which he himself had founded. Here he occupied himself in preparations for the intended invasion in the ensuing spring, when the promised succours were to be sent from England. They did arrive, and, after various turns of fortune Dermod was reinstated in his antient rights.

The British forces employed in this expedition have been variously stated; but the largest number named is three thousand, including the adherents of Dermod, who joined them after their landing. This

This force has been represented by some writers in such formidable colours, as if nothing in Ireland could stand against it; but experience has sufficiently evinced the incalculable advantages of discipline over strength and valour. The Irish nation did not in fact oppose this invasion; but separate septs or families made each a separate resistance, and their divided efforts were of course of no avail. It is also well authenticated that several chiefs sent over deputies to invite Henry to Ireland: the men of Wexford, O'Bryan of Thomond, and all the inferior chiefs of Munster, vied with each other in the alacrity of their submission. Henry, jealous of the successful progress of his own subjects, sent orders to recall all the English, and made preparations to attack Ireland in person. He at length landed in that island at the head of five hundred knights besides other soldiers; but so dispirited were the Irish, that in his progress he had nothing more to do than to receive the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the native princes in possession of their territories; invested the earl of Pembroke with the government of Ireland, and returned in triumph to England. Yet notwithstanding the apparent submission which the English monarch had received in all parts of Ireland, he had not by his expedition won one heart to his interest, or added one true and loyal subject to the number of those whom he found there on his landing.

A. D. 1172.

The Irish chieftains waited only for a favourable opportunity of openly disavowing their submission; and when the earl of Pembroke retired into Ferns to solemnize the marriage of his daughter, they threw off all show of allegiance to Henry, and

boldly

boldly denounced vengeance against the invaders. The English army had been entrusted to Hervey of Mountmorres, and Raymond le Gros was appointed second in command. The mutual jealousies of these two leaders prevented any effectual opposition to a powerful confederacy which was formed against Henry by the Irish chiefs; and their misconduct might have proved fatal to the English interest, had not Henry provided a remedy for the threatened evil. He summoned the earl of Pembroke to attend him at Rouen, and communicated to him his intention of committing the affairs of Ireland to his sole direction; and to reward his services, and stimulate his zeal, he granted to him the town of Wexford, with a fort erected at Wicklow. The earl, upon his return to Dublin, was received with the respect due to his royal commission. But as, agreeably to the king's orders, considerable detachments of the English forces were immediately sent to England, the earl soon perceived that his army was too much weakened to support his authority, and suffered the further mortification of hearing the loudest remonstrances against his uncle Mountmorres. The soldiers at the same time appeared before him in a body, and demanded that Raymond le Gros should be their leader. The earl was compelled to yield; and Raymond led the soldiers to a predatory excursion, in which they were gratified by the acquisition of considerable spoil, obtained by means which brought the detestation of the Irish upon their invaders.

Raymond was in consequence more popular with the army than before; and he thought so highly of himself, that he demanded in marriage

Basilia

Basilia the sister of the earl of Pembroke---a demand which though the earl rejected with coldness in the first instance, he was compelled by the subsequent misfortunes of his forces to accede to. Raymond immediately upon the earl's refusal had withdrawn into Wales; and thither at length the earl was compelled to send to him, to entreat his return, promising to accede to his former demand. Flattered by this invitation, Raymond immediately prepared to return to Waterford, where his arrival was extremely critical. The townsmen had premeditated a general massacre of the English, which was only prevented by the appearance of Raymond's fleet in the harbour at the very moment of its intended execution. The marriage of Raymond and Basilia took place at Wexford; and in the midst of the nuptial ceremonies intelligence arrived that Roderic, at the head of a numerous body of troops, had suddenly passed the Shannon, entered the territory of Meath, expelled the English colonists, laid waste their settlements, and destroyed their newly erected fortresses. The occasion was too pressing for delay: he therefore instantly led his troops to Dublin to meet the insurgents; but the Irish chieftains were contented with the devastation committed in Meath, and were by no means inclined to continue hostilities. The success which attended the expedition of Raymond was sufficient to convince Roderic of the fickleness and perfidy of his subordinate chieftains, and determined him to save his own province, at least, by submission to the English monarch.

The affairs of Henry had by this time assumed a prosperous appearance, and he was forming schemes for the improvement of his kingdom, when he was attended at Windsor by three depu-

ties from Roderic. The terms which the Irish monarch offered to the English, consisted in his consent to do homage and pay tribute to Henry; on which condition he was allowed to hold the kingdom of Connaught, as well as his other lands and sovereignties, in as full manner as he enjoyed them before the invasion of the English.

As it is not our intention to enter into a detail of the events which took place during the reign of Henry, it will be sufficient to observe that this submission of Roderic, as well as the ready submissions of so many Irish kings and chieftains, is to be attributed in great measure to the secret machinations of the clergy, in consequence of the bull of Adrian, who might wish by any means to prevent a rupture with the see of Rome.

Henry, having succeeded so far beyond his expectations, ingratiated himself with the chiefs who had submitted to him, not only by promises of protection and aggrandizement, but by magnificent presents. Had he in fact faithfully complied with what he very judiciously engaged to perform, and had secured to this people the constitution and laws of England, which he made them swear to uphold, no revolution could have been more fortunate for the nation, none more glorious to the monarch. But unhappily, in lieu of fulfilling his promises to the chieftains, he dispossessed them of their honours and territories, and divided them with arbitrary prodigality among his Norman adventurers, whom he raised to the state of feudatory princes.

Notwithstanding the nominal or pretended conquest of Ireland by Henry, and the grant and confirmation thereof by popes Adrian and Alexander, the fact is, that the English power and authority during

during his reign, and four hundred years following, was confined to a certain district, afterwards called the *Pale*. This comprised the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel, with the cities of Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, and the lands immediately surrounding them. Over the other parts of the kingdom which were without the Pale, neither Henry II., nor any of his successors until James I., either had, or even pretended to claim, more than a naked sovereignty, marked by nothing else than a formal homage, an inconsiderable tribute, and an empty title. Accordingly the English adventurers governed their district by their own model; the native chiefs, though ruling over by far the greatest part of Ireland, acted independently of the English government; made war and peace, entered into leagues and treaties, not only amongst each other, but with foreign powers; and governed according to their own laws, customs, and constitution. It was the ill-fated policy of the English government of that day, not only not to coalesce and unite with the native Irish, but to use all possible means of fomenting and perpetuating dissension, animosity, and hatred between the two nations. This blind infatuation of the English government in their conduct towards Ireland is wholly unaccountable. Without passing in review the successive scenes of dissension, insurrection, perfidy, oppression, massacre, distress, and calamity, which blackened the reigns of all the English monarchs from the invasion to the reformation, certain it is that this long space of nearly four hundred years (except in the moments of impotency produced by excessive violence on each side, and the delusive hours of actual perfidy, or meditated treachery) was one

continued scene of discord, warfare, and wretchedness. Every appearance of advantage was alternately taken by the English and the Irish to extend or to contract the Pale: and though success was various, ravage, desolation, and famine, invariably marked the progress of the conqueror. The most trifling differences and frivolous pretexts were greedily seized by the factious and irascible chieftains, whose passions more than interests kept their septs in continual war with each other. Proud of independence, inflated with self-consequence, they seldom agreed with their neighbours, and never coalesced but through weakness for protection, or through resentment to execute vengeance upon their enemy. Private discord equally distracted the English cantonments, or districts, as it did the old Irish septs. Every report, appearance, or even suspicion of dissension, weakness, or disorder within the *Pale*, was the signal for the septs to fly to arms, and harass the English, of whom their hatred was truly implacable. Every defeat of the English was followed up by an inundation of more formidable forces: the submission of the Irish was often abject, always precarious and occasional: it never lasted longer than the English forces commanded a decided superiority. Famine, pestilence, and wars, frequently brought this wretched people to the necessity of feeding on grass, leaves, and the flesh of their fellow-creatures. Such were the unceasing calamities to which that unfortunate country was doomed, during the reign of sixteen English monarchs, who held the sceptre from the invasion under Henry II. to the reformation under Henry VIII. Thus England, which by uniting with Ireland at the period of the invasion would have acquired incalculable advantages,

advantages, was in fact a sufferer by the accession of a country which kept her for the space of four hundred years in constant alarm, expense, and warfare. The statutes for the government of Ireland during this period breathe nothing but rancorous persecution, treating the Irish as aliens, and enemies to the English, even putting a price upon their heads at the mere private surmise, suspicion, or personal resentment of any Englishman. The history therefore of these intervening reigns includes nothing more than a change of tyrannical governors, and a series of aggravations on the part of the conquerors, and resistance and revenge on that of the subdued. Among all the instances of oppression on the one hand, and of calamity on the other, perhaps the most fatal, and certainly the most to be lamented, was the system of *coygne* and *livery*, which consisted, to use the words of a celebrated * writer on Ireland, "in taking of *man's meate, horse-meate,* and *money,* of all the inhabitants of the country at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who, as the phrase of Scripture is, *did eat up the people as it were bread,* for they had no other entertainment."---"This extortion of *coygne* and *livery,*" says the same writer, "did produce two notorious effects. First it made the land waste; next it made the people ydle. For when the husbandman had laboured all the yeare, the soldier in one night did consume the fruites of all his labour. In the time of king Edward II. Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond began that wicked extortion of *coygne and livery and pay;* that is, he and his army took horse-meate, and man's meate, and money, without any ticket, or

* Dav. Disc. 174, &c.

any other satisfaction. And this was after that the general fault of the commanders in this lande."

Such was the unvarying system of English policy with respect to Ireland, during the period above named; a system which doomed that unhappy country to a series of calamities, naturally arising out of the internal divisions which distracted it, and the harsh oppressions by which it was unceasingly irritated.

CHAP. III.

From the Reformation of Religion under Henry VIII. to the Death of Queen Mary.

AT the period of the reformation of religion in England, a new scene disclosed itself in Ireland. The twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII. is properly termed the first year of the reformation, and from this epoch are to be reckoned the many active and passive disasters which fell upon Ireland, whether they really arose out of the change of religion, or were ignorantly or maliciously attributed to such change. A variety of causes however combined to render the English monarch at this time hateful rather than gracious to the Irish nation. The earl of Kildare was at this epoch confirmed in the lieutenancy beyond the power of opposition. Instead of the state and dignity of a vicegerent, he affected the rude grandeur of an Irish chieftain, and stood at the head of a wild and rapacious multitude of followers, to the annoyance of those whom he was appointed to protect. The lords of the old Irish race, who had always been the most unfriendly to the English government, were received as his kinsmen and associates. Two of his daughters were given in marriage to O'Connor of O'Fally, and O'Carrole, two powerful chieftains. The laws which prohibited such connections were treated with scorn, and the administration of government was simply considered by Kildare as an instrument of establishing his own personal authority

A. D. 1528.

thority and power. This powerful lord, who had held the government of Ireland much longer than any of his predecessors, experienced in cardinal Wolsey a formidable and determined enemy. The influence of this haughty priest over the mind of his royal master occasioned him to order the earl of Kildare to repair to England without delay, and to commit the government of Ireland during his absence, to some person for whom he was to be responsible. Unfortunately the earl entrusted this important commission to his son lord Thomas Fitz-gerald, an impetuous youth of twenty years old, but who from his affability and accomplishments was eminently qualified to gain the affections of the people. It was known in Ireland that soon after his landing in England, Kildare was committed to the Tower; and false reports were spread, that he had been beheaded. No sooner did these rumours reach his son, than he instantly declared himself in open rebellion; and was supported by numerous mal-contents amongst the Geraldines, whom Kildare had previously supplied with arms and ammunition. After various misfortunes and defeats occasioned by the inexperience and temerity of lord Thomas, the rebellion was suppressed under the administration of sir William Skeffington; and O'Neal and O'Carrole, two chiefs who had joined in it, made their submission to the king. Lord Thomas also had been promised a pardon on condition of his personal submission; and he in consequence went over to England for that purpose in perfect confidence. He was treacherously arrested on his way to Windsor, committed to the Tower, and there executed as a rebel and a traitor. Henry was not however satisfied with a single victim; but, considering

dering the suppression of the late rebellion as a new conquest of Ireland, conceived that he had a right to seize at once on all the estates of that kingdom, spiritual and temporal; and above all breathed the most furious revenge against the whole lineage of Kildare. Lord Gray, the new lord deputy, who succeeded Skeffington, received orders from Henry to seize the five uncles of lord Thomas Fitzgerald and send them prisoners to London. Of these, three were known to have totally disapproved and opposed the insurrection of their nephew, and the whole number had reason to expect pardon from the treaty made with the rebels. Their confidence proved their snare. They accepted the invitation of lord Gray to a banquet; they were feasted with all the appearance of amity; after which they were all made prisoners, sent to London, and executed with their nephew. The vengeance of king Henry even pursued a younger branch of the family, Gerald, a youth about twelve years old, the brother of lord Thomas. Happily this guiltless and helpless infant was preserved by the vigilance of his guardian, who secretly conveyed him out of the kingdom, and at length safely committed him to the protection of cardinal Pole, then in Italy, who, in defiance of his declared enemy king Henry, received the young lord as his kinsman, educated him suitably to his birth, and by his favour and support preserved him to regain the honours of the family of Kildare.

This tyrannical and treacherous conduct of king Henry towards one of the first families in Ireland, is conclusive evidence how ill-suited he was to obtain the affection of the Irish, either within or without the Pale, in the important work of the reformation

mation of the church, which he now determined in Ireland.

In the mean time a party was formed of the most powerful servants of the crown, who were the avowed enemies of Kildare; at the head of which was Allan, archbishop of Dublin. This man, who was the creature of Wolsey, retained all the enmity of his deceased master against the Geraldines. This party at length obtained a resolution of the majority of the lords of the council to send the master of the rolls in their name to the king, to lay before him the state of the country, and to implore his royal interference in their behalf. The master of the rolls opened his commission by representing to the king the confined extent of the English laws, manners, language, and customs, it being reduced at that time to the small compass of twenty miles; the melancholy consequence of those illegal exactions and oppressions by which the English tenantry had been driven from their settlements; the grievous tribute which the remains of these loyal subjects were obliged to pay to the Irish lords for a precarious protection; the enormous jurisdictions granted to the lords of the English race, that favoured their oppression and stopped the course of justice; the rabble of disaffected Irish settled purposely on their land, whom they oppressed with impunity, and whom they found their readiest instruments for oppressing others; the negligence of the king's officers in keeping the records; their unskilful conduct in the exchequer; but above all the alienation of the crown lands, which reduced the revenue to a state of dangerous insufficiency, and left the realm without succour or resource. Many of

of the public disorders they ascribed to a too frequent change of governors; entreating the king's highness, that for the future he would be graciously pleased to entrust the charge of his Irish government to some loyal subject sent over from his realm of England, whose sole object should be the honour and interest of the crown, unconnected with Irish factions, and uninfluenced by partial favour or aversion.

Henry, though impetuous, and the slave of passion, did not want penetration to perceive the feebleness of his power over the Irish, who in their present situation were rather to be soothed by policy than compelled by force into the adoption of his measures.

In consequence of this policy George Brown, who had been preeminently conspicuous in preaching up the reformation in London, was appointed to succeed Allan in the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. He was accordingly sent over, with other commissioners specially instructed and appointed, to confer with the clergy and nobility, in order to procure a general acknowledgment of the king's spiritual supremacy. No sooner had the commissioners explained their instructions, than Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, an Englishman by birth, openly declared against the attempt as impious. He summoned the suffragans and clergy of his province; he reminded them that their country had been called in the earliest ages the Holy Island; which, he said, was a convincing proof that it was the peculiar property of the holy see, from which the kings of England derived their lordship. He further enjoined them to resist all innovation, as they tendered their everlasting felicity; and pronounced a tremendous curse against all those who should

should sacrilegiously acknowledge the king's supremacy. In the mean time he dispatched two emissaries to Rome to represent the danger of the church, and to entreat the interposition of the pope in defence of what he called his rights and interests in Ireland.

Archbishop Brown, on the other hand, laboured in support of his commission; but he was treated not only with disdain but outrage, and his life was exposed to continual danger. At length, in conformity to his advice, it was resolved by the English government that a parliament should be summoned in Ireland, which, like that of England, might by law enforce a general acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, so as to terrify the refractory, and to silence their opposition. A parliament was accordingly convened at Dublin on the first of May 1536. Though this parliament was merely a provincial assembly of the Pale, and so successfully did Henry exert every device of art and power, that he was by this parliament declared supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland; the pope's power over spiritual causes was annulled; the English law against slandering the king on account of these innovations was enacted and confirmed in Ireland; together with the provision made in England for payment of first-fruits to the king; and not only of the first-fruits of bishoprics, and other secular promotions in the church of Ireland, but by another act he was invested with those of abbeys, priories, colleges, and hospitals. By a further act the authority of the bishop of Rome was more solemnly renounced, and the maintenance of it in Ireland made subject to a *præmunire*. Every person who should refuse to take the oath of supremacy

A. D. 1536.

macy was declared, as in England, guilty of high treason. Besides these acts more immediately relating to the reformation of the church of Ireland, the parliament with the same servile ease adopted a variety of measures after the example of the English legislature, respecting the king's marriages and divorces, and the right of succession. Other acts were also passed, which had for their object the internal regulation of the Pale. The antient laws against marrying and fostering with the Irish were revived in all their severity; and the use of the English language and English manners and customs were strictly enforced throughout the Pale. The adoption of these measures, it has been recently and judiciously observed, was "not to be reconciled to any principle of sound policy; it was a declaration of perpetual war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood who had settled beyond the limits of the Pale, and from motives of personal interest or convenience had formed connections with natives, or adopted their laws and customs: and it had the full effect which might have been expected; it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the Pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent districts*."

At this period of the Irish history the whole Irish nation, within and without the Pale, was catholic. The question, therefore, of papal authority threatened to divide those who had been most united; and whilst the king's subjects within the Pale who disapproved of the new measures were in danger

* Speech of the Earl of Clare in the Irish House of Lords, on the 10th of February 1800.

of being seduced from their allegiance, at the same time a new bond of union was formed among the old Irish chieftains.

Nearly four centuries had elapsed since the invasion of the Irish by the English: this whole space of time had been a chequered scene of arrogant oppression or servile humiliation, intemperate conquest or calamitous defeat, rancorous perfidy or hostile outrage. Fierce, cruel, and vindictive as the Irish were to each other, never till now did religion afford fuel to insurrection. Immorality, sloth, ignorance, perfidy, cruelty, and incontinence, had been mutually recriminated on each other by the Irish and the English: but both professed the principles from which virtues the very opposite to these vices should have sprung; both agreed in faith and communion upon spiritual points; and yet on temporal differences they fought, betrayed, and massacred each other. If, therefore, when there existed none but temporal motives to such hostilities, what was to be expected from the introduction of religious differences in addition to all the former seeds of internal dissensions!

Those who were disaffected before this alteration might now assume a new ground for their rebellion; and many who had been hitherto well inclined to the English interests, now resisted it in a cause which, on conscientious minds, must ever have an influence superior to all earthly considerations.

Accordingly we find that O'Neal, O'Bryan, and several other Irish chieftains of less repute, made the defence of their religion the cause or the pretext for rising in arms against the English government. They failed however in the struggle, and submitted to Henry.

Experience

Experience taught the English monarch that his object of carrying the reformation in Ireland, and his power over the Irish, would be far more speedily established by conciliating their chiefs, than by any measures of severity which he had the means of adopting. He therefore held out every encouragement to the native chieftains to submit to his government; he bestowed titles, honours, and favours upon several of the chief families, and induced them to resort to his court; for which purpose he granted to the new nobility houses and lands near Dublin, for their more convenient attendance on the lord lieutenant and the parliament. They, as well as many other of the principal chieftains, surrendered possessions into the king's hands, and accepted fresh grants of them from the crown of England, to be holden by military service. In this manner the reformation made considerable progress among the great; but it advanced more slowly, as it has ever since done, with the lower orders. A.D. 1542. It was about this time resolved in the English cabinet to change the style of *Lord of Ireland* to that of *King*. For this purpose, St. Leger was commissioned to summon a parliament in Ireland, by which it was enacted, that forasmuch as the king and his progenitors ever rightfully enjoyed all authority royal by the name of *Lords of Ireland*, but for lack of the title of King were not duly obeyed, his highness and his heirs for ever should have the style and honour of King of Ireland, and that it should be deemed high treason to impeach that title, or to oppose the royal authority.

Before we conclude our account of the reign of Henry VIII., under which such vast and important changes were attempted in Ireland, we cannot

cannot better view the civil state of the nation at the close of his days than in the perspective given of it by sir John Davis*. "For all this while the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, and a good part of Leinster, were not reduced to shire ground. And though Mounster were antiently divided into counties, the people were so degenerate, as no justice of assize durst execute his commission among them. None of the Irish lords or tenants were settled in their possessions by anie graunte, or confirmation of the crowne, except the great earls before named; who, notwithstanding, did govern their tenants and followers by the Irish or Brehon law, so as no treason, murther, rape or theft committed in those countries was inquired of or punished by the law of England."

In this state of affairs O'Neal, O'Donnel, O'Dogherty, and some other Irish chieftains, either repenting of their too hasty submission, or weary of their dependence upon the English, proposed terms to the king of France, to become his subjects, on condition of his sending over a sufficient force to enable them to shake off the English yoke. Francis I., who was then on the throne of France, sent over an emissary to Ireland to inquire into the probability of success in such an enterprise, and, from the report which he received, was induced to decline the proposal. On the other hand, the Irish showed themselves ever ready to fight the battles of England; and Henry was attended to the siege of Bologne by a considerable body of Irish infantry, who distinguished themselves by their activity and prowess; and astonished the enemy by

* Disc. page 247.

the agility with which they made incursions into their country for several leagues, and the ferocity with which they attacked, seized, or destroyed all they met.

By one act, towards the end of his reign, Henry rendered himself unpopular even with his own subjects of the Pale; for as yet those beyond its limits could not be deemed such. To supply the deficiencies of his treasury, he ordered base money to be coined in Ireland; and stamping it with a nominal value, he made it current, to the great injury of the people, especially the soldiers.

The short reign of the pious young prince Edward VI. has been deemed by historians of too slight importance in the elucidation of Irish history to receive much notice. There is, however, one feature of it which strongly marks the fatal consequences of thwarting the dispositions, exciting the disaffections, and encroaching upon the native rights of the Irish people. Immediately upon the demise of Henry, O'Moore, O'Byrne, O'Connor, and some other chieftains, showed themselves in arms, hoping to take advantage of the weakness of the English government during the infancy of the monarch. But they were subdued by sir Anthony Bellingham, who had been seasonably sent over with a reinforcement of four hundred foot and six hundred horse. Some time after, the earl of Desmond proving refractory and turbulent was surprised in his house by the deputy, and carried prisoner to Dublin. Sir Anthony Bellingham, instead of punishing him, so worked upon him by reason and mildness, that Desmond made sincere atonement for his crime, and was released upon giving sureties for his future good conduct: he continued a peaceable and loyal subject until his death.

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The vindictive character of Henry VIII. and the rigour of his government had driven many of the Pale, as well as of the Irish race, to formal professions and condescensions, which the very ease and readiness with which they were made prove to have been made without due attention and serious conviction. The authority of a minor king was less esteemed or dreaded, and yet the requisitions now to be made were more extensive, and did greater violence to popular prejudices. The protector, Somerset, having successfully proceeded with the work of the reformation in England, was resolved that the liturgy of the church of England should, as well as other new ordinances concerning religion, be introduced into Ireland. These means were unexpectedly opposed with great violence by Dowdall of Armagh, the new primate, who owed his promotion to the young king. The new liturgy was performed for the first time on Easter Sunday 1551. The bulk of the nation, however, still steadfastly adhered to their antient faith, and the cause of religion became the cause of the nation. The attempts, therefore, to force a people to renounce the faith which they had received from St. Patrick, and to receive a new system of religion with an English ritual, naturally blended the national prejudices against English oppression, and cooperated in raising the insurrection of Tyrone, for the suppression of which we must look to a later period of the Irish history. This nobleman, notwithstanding the fulness of his late confession, and his acceptance of an English title, retained all his national predilections for the greatness and regal splendour of his family. He had once pronounced a curse upon those of his posterity who should conform to the English manners, or asso-

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ciate with the Saxon race. Having been frequently upbraided with this circumstance, and finding the Irish nation now more estranged than ever from the English government by the recent attempt to force them out of their religion, he chose this as the most favourable period to shake off his allegiance, and revert to the antient consequence and independence of O'Neal.

The unexpected death of Edward VI., and the short reign of his sister Mary, gave a temporary respite to the troubled state of Ireland, as far at least as it depended upon England. The queen immediately on her accession repealed all the protestant acts of her brother and her father, restored the antient religion, and reinstated many of the deposed ecclesiastics in their situations in the church.

Bands of Scotch adventurers from their native islands had about this period become exceedingly numerous. These mercenaries had come over upon the speculation of profiting by the internal dissensions of the Irish, and their services were consequently to be obtained by those who proffered them the most lucrative terms. Their numbers became so considerable, and their outrages so alarming, that it was declared to be high treason to invite them into Ireland, or to entertain them, and felony to intermarry with them, without the license of the lord lieutenant. In this reign also the advantages gained by the earl of Sussex over the two most powerful septs of Leinster, the O'Moores and the O'Connors, enabled the English to extend the Pale, by converting their territories of *Leix* and *Offaly* into two counties; and they were by act of parliament vested in the crown, and converted into shire land. Leix was denominated the Queen's county, and its principal fort was styled *Maryburgh;* and a similar compliment was paid to her royal consort.

Offaly

Offaly was called King's county, and its fort *Philipstown;* which were the two first counties made since the twelfth year of the reign of king John. The earl of Sussex, having thus far extended the jurisdiction of the English, resolved to divide all the rest of the Irish counties unreduced into several shires, for which purpose an act of parliament was passed, and by this means laid open a passage for the civil government into the unsubdued parts of the kingdom.

So confident was the English government of the tranquillity of Ireland during this reign, that the queen ordered the army to be reduced to five hundred men; and to comply as far as was deemed safe in Ireland with her majesty's wishes, the army was actually reduced to six hundred foot, four hundred and sixty horse, and a small number of light infantry. The turbulence, however, of the Irish chiefs, and their incessant wars with each other, together with the refractory and lawless conduct of the Scotch adventurers, rendered it necessary to increase the army with reinforcements from England. Although the Irish were in general highly gratified by the restoration of the catholic religion, yet they were not altogether satisfied with the civil administration of the power of the crown within their kingdom. They were particularly irritated at the power vested in the lord lieutenant to dispose of the territories of *Leix* and *Offaly* in grants at the royal pleasure, in violence to the rights of those natives to whom these lands had hitherto belonged. Upon the whole, it has been remarked by one of the Irish annalists, that notwithstanding the restoration of their antient religion to the Irish by queen Mary, her reign was marked by acts injurious to the independence of Ireland.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Reign of Elizabeth.

WHEN Elizabeth ascended the throne of England she found the Irish nation more tranquil, and more submissive to the English government, than it had been under any of her predecessors. That princess, however, having determined to establish the reformation, immediately on her accession assembled a parliament in Ireland, and in a session of a few weeks the whole system of Mary was completely reversed; and the arbitrary and impolitic measures of Henry were renewed with vigour. In consequence of the general discontent which followed these measures of Elizabeth, the whole kingdom was for several years convulsed, either with the internal feuds and wars of the chieftains with each other, or with the grand insurrection of O'Neal. As the events in the early part of this reign are not of sufficient importance to require particular detail, we shall content ourselves with observing, that the acts of the English government unhappily continued to be those of a cruel and impolitic conqueror towards a foe in their power, rather than the magnanimous and philanthropic efforts of a civilized nation to obtain the affections of a sister kingdom, whose interests should have been regarded as essentially necessary to her own.

Among other outrages against the people, Elizabeth adopted the scheme of planting or re-peopling the province of Munster with an English colony, with a view to extirpate the aboriginal owners

owners of the soil, transpose the property, and alter the very face of the country. For this purpose, letters were written to every county in England, holding out encouragements to adventurers in Ireland. Estates were offered in fee, at a small acreable rent of three-pence, and in some places two-pence, to commence at the end of three years, and one half only of these rents was to be demanded for the three following. Seven years were to be allowed to complete the plantation. The undertaker for twelve hundred acres was to plant eighty-six families on his estates; those who engaged for less seignories were to provide in proportion. None of the native Irish were to be admitted among their tenantry. Among other advantages, they were assured that sufficient garrisons should be stationed on their frontiers, and commissioners appointed to decide their controversies. Sir Christopher Hatton, sir Walter Raleigh, and others, gentlemen of power and distinction, received grants of different portions of Irish territory under these regulations. Such being the situation of the Irish, any affectionate attachment to the queen was not to be expected from them: their forced submission to her strong measures could be nothing more than an insidious suspension of hostilities till the favourable moment for rising in arms should present itself. The submission produced by fear is ever different from the obedience and fidelity which spring out of affection and attachment.

The spirit of insurrection showed itself on all possible occasions, and the Irish chieftains, especially in the north, were almost constantly in arms against the English government; and so formidable did the power of the insurgents at length become, that the queen condescended to appoint sir Robert

Gardiner

Gardiner and sir Henry Wallop to conclude a peace with the Irish. This treaty was very solemn, but it produced nothing more than a truce for some months.

After the recommencement of hostilities the remainder of Elizabeth's reign was a continued scene of the most disastrous war, famine, and desolation. A.D. 1596. A general system of rebellion to shake off the English government was now organized in Ireland. The most formidable of the rebel chiefs was O'Neal, who disdaining the title of Tyrone, had assumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulster, and entered into a correspondence with Spain, from whence he received a supply of arms and ammunition. The queen, sensible of the danger, appointed her favourite the earl of Essex deputy of Ireland, with the command of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. During the violent contentions that ensued every enormity was committed by both parties, at the recital of which the soul sickens. For a series of years, particularly during the government of Essex, the arms of England were unsuccessful. At length the mutual system of devastation became so general, that the produce of that fertile country no longer sufficed to support its wretched inhabitants. The putrified bodies of multitudes that fell daily, more by famine than the sword, brought on a pestilence, which threatened to clear the land of its aboriginal race. The advantages in this rueful state of calamity were with the English, who, by commanding the coasts, were supplied with provisions and other means of subsistence from England. In this extremity of distress Tyrone, whose adherents were every day diminishing, made overtures of A.D. 1603.

an accommodation with a sincerity to which hitherto he had been a stranger. The lord deputy Mountjoy, who had succeeded Essex, pressed the absolute necessity of an amicable conclusion to the war: but the irritated mind of Elizabeth interposed insurmountable obstacles; and she positively charged the deputy not to receive Tyrone upon any other conditions than an absolute submission to her mercy in all things, except his life; and even this concession she afterwards retracted, in peevish opposition to the sentiments of her council. The manner of proceeding with the Irish chief became the subject of debate in the English cabinet; and the queen's resolutions appear to have fluctuated greatly. In contradiction to her former orders, she directed Mountjoy to grant the earl a promise of life: in a few days after she enlarged her commission, and directed that he should be assured of life, liberty, and pardon. While the deputy was thus distracted he received alarming intimations of the queen's sickness, which were soon followed by private assurances of her death. Aware that this intelligence, if once divulged, would prove dangerous, by the encouragement it would give to the rebels, he determined to put an end to delay, and to conclude a treaty with Tyrone by virtue of the queen's commission, without attending to any subsequent instructions. Sir William Godolphin was dispatched to the earl, to induce him instantly to repair to the lord deputy and accept the honourable terms which he then had power to grant, but which he pretended might be immediately revoked. The chieftain in his former pride would have considered such advances an indication of the weakness and apprehensions of the government; but the once great and formidable

midable Tyrone was now reduced to a state of real humiliation, deserted by his followers, and in the truly piteous condition of fallen greatness. He set out immediately to attend the lord deputy at Mellifont; where falling on his knees he implored mercy, acknowledged his guilt, and renounced for ever the name of O'Neal, with all his former pretensions to independence, authority, and sovereignty; entreating to be admitted, through the bounty of his sovereign, to some part of his inheritance for an honourable subsistence. The deputy pardoned him, and with some exceptions promised him the restoration of his lands and dignity. On these conditions the pacification was ratified. Tyrone accompanied the lord deputy to Dublin; where on hearing that Elizabeth was dead, he burst into tears. He pretended that his emotion arose from the affection which he entertained for a princess who had treated him with such unmerited clemency. His passion may however be more probably accounted for by the mortification which he must have felt at his precipitate submission, when perseverance for one hour would have preserved his honour, maintained his reputation with his countrymen, and afforded a favourable opportunity of renewing the war, or of concluding it upon more honourable terms with the new monarch.

Thus closed the rebellion; but it was a melancholy solace, that the reduction of Ireland to this reluctant state of submission through the gloomy tracks of famine, pestilence, and blood, cost England no less a sum than 1,198,717l.; which, considering the value of money at that period, is truly enormous.

 CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Reign of James I.

JAMES was the first monarch who extended the legislative as well as the juridical power of England beyond the Pale. It was unquestionably the interest of the crown to have the whole kingdom in effective subjection to the law of England; it was the interest also of Ireland to be no longer subjected to several chieftains, who were incessantly at war with each other, or with the crown of England. Ireland was at this epoch so reduced by famine and by the sword, that she abandoned all thoughts of that liberty and independence which was only to be purchased by a continuance of such calamities. England revolted at the idea of retaining the sovereignty of a kingdom by so profuse a drain of blood and treasure, which her resources were inadequate any longer to supply. The first care of the new monarch, therefore, was to ingratiate himself with the Irish. Tyrone and Roderic O'Donnel, who in the late rebellion had been exceedingly active against the government, accompanied Mountjoy to the court of king James, where they were most graciously received: the former was confirmed in all his lands and honours, and the latter was created earl of Tyrconnel. It has been proved beyond a doubt, that James rather encouraged than discountenanced the reports which were industriously spread among the Irish, that he should favour the catholic cause. These reports were naturally magnified by the enthusiasm of

of the Irish; and it was currently believed by a large portion of the nation, that the king himself was of that persuasion. In the warmth of these hopes and expectations, they no longer considered it necessary to confine their religious worship to privacy. In many parts of Leinster, and more particularly of Munster, they openly performed divine service and other religious ceremonies in the full external form of the Roman ritual. When the lord deputy remonstrated with them on this violation and defiance of the law, they defended with zeal their right of conscience, declaring at the same time their loyalty to the king. Mountjoy marched an army into Munster to check this open defiance of the law. At Waterford he found the town gates shut against him: the citizens pleaded that, by a charter of king John, they were exempted from quartering soldiers: but Mountjoy instantly replied, that with the sword of king James he would cut to pieces the charter of king John, level their city to the ground, and strew salt upon its ruins. The menace was effectual; the citizens were terrified, and Mountjoy entered in triumph. This conduct of the deputy occasioned the other cities of Munster, which had declared for the free and public exercise of the Roman catholic religion, to comply in a similar manner. An act of *oblivion and indemnity* was soon published by proclamation, by which all offences against the crown and all particular trespasses between subject and subject were pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question; and by the same proclamation all the Irishry, who had hitherto received no defence or protection from the crown, having been entirely subjected to their respective chieftains, were admitted into his majesty's

majesty's immediate protection. Still more effectually to secure the full dominion both of the Irish and their property, James published a proclamation, which is usually called the *Commission of Grace*, for securing the subjects of Ireland against all claims of the crown. The chief governor was thereby empowered to accept the surrenders of those Irish lords who still held their possessions by the old tenures of *tanestry* and *gavelkind*, and to regrant them in fee simple according to the English law: thus converting the estates for life of the chieftains into estates in fee simple. The chief policy of this measure consisted in the alteration it occasioned in the right of inheritance. By vesting the fee simple in the chief, by the course of English law, it descended to his eldest son or heir at law, and thus excluded the sept from their reversionary distributive rights of gavelkind upon the death of the tenant for life, and by that means detached the septs from that common bond of interest and union with their chief which gave them firmness, consistency, and consequence, and necessarily threw them thus disjointed more immediately under the power of the sovereign, by leaving one only freeholder or tenant to the crown in each sept. The new grants to the lords were limited to the lands in their actual possession. Thus was the whole landed interest of Ireland new modelled; and the example of these new patentees of the crown was followed by many trading towns and corporations throughout the kingdom: they surrendered their old and accepted new charters from the crown, with such regulations and privileges as were more congenial with the policy and views of the court.

James now felt himself firmly seated on the throne

throne of Ireland. In his religious principles he was neither a catholic nor a protestant: he disliked and dreaded the puritans. At this time the puritan party had acquired both in the church and state of Ireland an eminent ascendancy; and from this moment they were preparing that eventful tragedy which closed in the catastrophe of the throne, altars, and constitution of the British empire. Their first act was to express their indignation at the relaxations, favour, and countenance shown to the catholics; to meet which the government published the Statute of Conformity, to which was annexed the king's proclamation for its strict observance. These measures, and some harsh proceedings against several magistrates and citizens of Dublin, naturally produced general rancour and distrust; but the views of those who had instituted them would have been disappointed, unless some advantages could be reaped from them. Rumours of insurrections and conspiracies were set afloat; and in the moment of distrust and alarm an anonymous letter was dropped in the privy-council chamber, intimating a traitorous scheme of rebellion formed by the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and other lords and gentlemen of the north, for seizing the castle of Dublin, murdering the deputy, and raising a general revolt, with the aid of Spain, in favour of the catholic religion. The truth or falsehood of this charge is variously contended for by the adherents and opposers of the Roman catholic cause. Certain however it is, that Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled the country, and were with some other fugitives of inferior note attainted of high treason. Whether the flight of these noblemen ought to be attributed to consciousness of guilt, or fear of injustice, the consequence was

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the forfeiture of their vast estates to the crown. These estates, besides some others that had been also forfeited by sir Cahir O'Dogherty and several of his adherents, who were actually for about five months in rebellion, comprised almost the whole six northern counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, and Tyrconnel, now called Donegal. From that period king James entered upon his favourite scheme of forming a plantation for the avowed purpose of excluding the old inhabitants, and introducing the reformed religion. The lands were accordingly parcelled out among the adventurers who flocked thither from England and Scotland. The latter were the more numerous, and brought with them the principles and discipline of presbyterianism. The most opulent adventurers in this speculation were the citizens of London; who obtained a large tract of land on the river Ban in the vicinity of Derry, which town they rebuilt and called *London Derry*. The passion which James indulged for plantations was an endless source of apprehension and suffering to the Irish. With a view to extend them to other parts of the kingdom, he appointed a commission of inquiry to scrutinize the titles and determine the rights of all the lands in Leinster and the adjoining districts. Such rapid progress did these commissions of defective titles make, that in a short time James deemed himself entitled to make a distribution of 385,000 acres in those counties. By such acts the possession of every man became precarious and unsafe; and to complete the horror of this system of inquisition, the juries who refused to find a title in the crown were censured, and fined in the castle chamber. The remainder of the reign of James I. was an uninterrupted

interrupted scene of vexatious oppressions of the recusants. Grievous extortion of the soldiery and their officers upon the people, the execution of martial law in time of peace, the abusive exactions of the clergy and the ecclesiastical courts, the unconstitutional interference of the privy council and castle chamber in causes which ought to have been determined by common law, the invasion of property in the different plantations, and extreme rigour in executing the penal laws, were the means by which James estranged the affections of his Irish subjects from the English government, reduced them to want and misery, and consequently predisposed them to rise against their oppressors whenever the opportunity should offer itself of doing it with effect.

CHAP. VI.

Reign of Charles I.

AT the period when the inauspicious reign of the first Charles commenced, lord Faulkland was deputy of Ireland. This nobleman was a man of more rectitude than ability, of manners indolent and gentle, courting rather than terrifying the obnoxious and prevailing party. The instructions sent him from court were favourable to the catholics, and he faithfully pursued them. The puritans however highly resented this conduct, and loudly complained that the popish worship was still maintained, and that the new seminary of the recusants in Dublin was not suppressed. The catholics were more than prudently elated with this species of negative indulgence and precarious favour, and, in the overflowing of their gratitude, offered to keep in pay at their own charge a constant body of five thousand infantry and five hundred horse for the service of the king. Faulkland was instructed to give every encouragement to this proposal. The protestants, however, jealous of the power that would by this means be placed in the hands of the catholics or the crown, availed themselves of the fanatic spirit of the times, and rejected the offer as the ungodly price of idolatry and superstition. Faulkland still continued faithfully to execute the instructions of the court, and by that zeal so irritated the puritans, that they beset the English cabinet with complaints of his administration, and the king sacrificed a faithful servant to the

the intrigues of enemies. Faulkland was recalled, and the administration intrusted to two lords justices, viscount Ely the chancellor, and the earl of Cork the lord high treasurer of that kingdom. These justices, without waiting for any instructions from the king, fell at once with great severity on the recusants, and threatened all absentees from the established worship with the penalties of the statute enacted in the second year of the reign of Elizabeth. The difficulties however which the unfortunate Charles experienced at home, soon caused him to lend an eager ear to those who advised him that austerity to the papists was the only sure method of securing supplies. A system of terrorism was again adopted. The archbishop of the diocese, and the chief magistrate of the city, at the head of a file of musqueteers, entered the catholic chapel in Cork-street on St. Stephen's day whilst they were celebrating divine service: they seized the priest in his vestments at the altar, hewed down the crucifix, and carried off all the sacred utensils and ornaments. After their first alarm and terror had in some degree subsided, several of the congregation pursued the assailants with stones, and rescued their priest. The representation of this incident to the English council produced an immediate order, which was carried into effect, for seizing fifteen religious houses for the king's use, and assigning the newly established seminary to the university of Dublin. The most rigorous execution of the penal laws was extended to every part of the kingdom, and the king yielded to the advice of the lords justices, that the army should be provided for out of the weekly fines to be imposed upon the catholics for absenting themselves from the established worship. As long as the

the lords justices continued in the administration of Ireland, such presentments were made with extreme rigour, to the great grievance of the recusants and comparatively small emolument of the crown.

In the year 1633 lord Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, succeeded the lords justices in the government of Ireland. Few characters have been more the subject both of censure and panegyric than that of lord Wentworth; his enemies and his admirers having both carefully inspected it. He assumed his government with a mind and affection fixed on one single object, the immediate interest of his royal master. Ireland he considered as a conquered country in every sense of the word; and from this crude conception he deduced a consequence at once ridiculous and detestable, that the subjects of that country had without distinction forfeited the rights of men and citizens; and that for whatever they were permitted to enjoy they depended solely upon the royal grace. Such men he was naturally disposed to treat with contempt; and even the most distinguished of the Irish subjects were of little consequence in the eye of an imperious nobleman used to the magnificence of the English court, distinguished even in the crowd of exalted personages, and known to enjoy an extraordinary portion of the royal favour.

Assuming the reins of government with such prejudices and passions, it is not to be wondered at that his arrogance and haughtiness manifested themselves even to his own party on the first day of his landing in Ireland. Through his machinations while he was yet in England, the catholics of Ireland had been cajoled to offer the king half a subsidy, upon consideration of all further prosecu-

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tion upon the statute of Elizabeth II. being respited till the arrival of lord Wentworth. Lord Antrim, then one of the principal leaders of the catholic party, wrote to England to that effect, on behalf of himself and the other catholics. The arrogance of Wentworth was however such, that he omitted to summon several members of the council; and on the first day, after making them wait for above two hours, he negligently, and without any apology, apprised them of the cause of their being summoned; which was, to continue the contribution. On the following day, when they evinced some displeasure at the continuance of the contribution, he superciliously assured them in plain terms that no necessity induced him to take them in council on that business; for that, rather than fail in so necessary a duty to his master, he would upon the peril of his head engage to make the king's army able to subsist and provide for themselves among them without their help. This menacing allusion to the odious practice of free quarters had its effect; and he procured a written promise for the next year's contribution from the protestants, as it had that year proceeded from the catholics, who ought, he tauntingly said, to be more forward in their readiness to serve the king.

The first step of Wentworth's administration was to summon a parliament, which he took especial care should be composed of such creatures as suited his arrogant views. When this parliament had met, he informed them that "his majesty expected 100,000l. debt to be discharged, and 20,000l. a year constant and standing revenue to be set apart for the payment of the army: and that his majesty intended to have two sessions of that parliament, the one for himself, the other for them;

them; so as, if they without conditions supplied the king in this, they might be sure his majesty would go along with them in the next meeting, through all the expressions of a gracious and good king." The commons, relying upon the promises of the deputy, voted six entire subsidies, amounting to 240,000l., a sum far exceeding his most sanguine expectations; and in return they drew up a remonstrance concerning his majesty's promised graces, particularly in relation to the inquiry into defective titles, and deputed sir George Radcliffe master of the rolls, sir James Ware, and nine other respectable members, to present it to the deputy.

A. D. 1634. Soon after the meeting of the second session of this parliament, the commons were ordered into the presence chamber to receive the lord deputy's answer. He informed them with sullen imperiousness that he would not transmit to England the statute 21 *Jacobi;* but that such refusal was his own; their request never having been so much as sent over by him: that passing this act to prevent inquiry, was not good and expedient for the kingdom at that time; and so they were to rest satisfied, without stirring any more, as to that particular, as a thing which could not nor would be departed from.

The subsequent conduct of the deputy clearly proved what he meant by the *inexpediency* to the kingdom; for he instantly set about his grand and favourite plan of inquisition into the king's title to the whole province of Connaught. His project was nothing less than to subvert the title to every estate in every part of Connaught, and to establish a new plantation through the whole province. For this purpose he had opposed the confirmation of the royal graces transmitted to lord Faulkland, and taken

taken to himself the odium of so flagrant a violation of the royal promise.——The parliament was now at an end, and the deputy was at leisure to execute a scheme, which, as it was offensive and alarming, required a cautious and deliberate procedure. The deputy first proceeded at the head of the commissioners of plantation to the western province. He had previously intimidated the county of Leitrim into a recognition of the king's title, and submission to a plantation. He next entered upon Roscommon; and there the king's title was unexceptionably found without scruple or hesitation. On these occasions Wentworth told the juries, that his majesty's intention in establishing his undoubted title was to make them a rich and civil people; that he proposed not to deprive them of their just possessions, but to invest them with a considerable part of his own; that he needed not their interposition to vindicate his right, which might be established in the usual course of law upon an information of intrusion; but he wished his people to share with him in the honour and profit of the glorious work he was then about to execute. To his majesty, he said, it was indifferent, whether their verdict should deny or find his title. If they were inclined to truth and their own interests, they were to find the title for the king; if to do that which was simply best for his majesty without regard to their own good, he advised them roughly and pertinaciously to deny to find any title at all. Mayo and Sligo followed the example of Roscommon, and found for the king. But the Galway jury, less pliant, did not find the king's title; and the deputy punished their boldness by fining them 4000l. each, and seizing their estates and persons until the fines were paid. The sheriff also

was fined one thousand pounds for returning such a jury.

Complaints of the harsh, imperious, and unjust conduct of Wentworth reached the ear of the English monarch; but his influence upon the mind of his royal master was proof against all the efforts of his adversaries. He was indeed recalled: but upon representing his own case to the king, he was more fully than before confirmed in his station, under the more honourable title of lord lieutenant; he was also honoured with the order of the garter, and created earl of Strafford. He returned to his government with the same principles, and pursued the same conduct. In the mean time the king's necessities obliged him to call parliaments both in England and Ireland; and although the Irish parliament readily voted six more subsidies, the commons presented a very strong remonstrance, setting forth in fourteen separate articles the grievances that nation then laboured under.

Strafford being justly alarmed at the progress and conduct of the Scotch covenanters, and perceiving the critical posture of the king's affairs both in England and Scotland, raised a body of nine thousand men in Ireland, eight thousand of which were Roman catholics, upon whose loyalty and zeal he knew he could rely. At the same time he was not unconscious that in England he was represented, and with good reason, as obnoxious to this body of men; yet he still laboured privately to persuade the king, that the Irish if left to their choice would not have any other general than himself. The committee appointed to convey the remonstrance of the Irish to London had however been received with particular favour by the popular party, who expected considerable assistance from

from them in the great design then in agitation, that of the destruction of the earl of Strafford. The public instructions delivered to the Irish committee directed them to address themselves to the king; but they seem to have been privately instructed to apply to a power then daily growing greater than the king's, that of the English house of commons. In this step the earl of Strafford perceived the first symptom of his danger. Contrary to his own sentiments, and the urgent admonitions of his friends, he fatally relied upon the king's power and promise of protection; he repaired to London, and resigned himself to the power of an incensed parliament. He was impeached, sequestered from parliament, committed to custody, and suffered death as a traitor.

Within a fortnight before the execution of the earl of Strafford, the king made a speech to the house of peers, in which, after telling them that he had been present at the hearing of that great case from one end to the other, "I must," says he, "tell you, that I cannot in my conscience condemn him of high treason, &c. I desire rightly to be understood; for though I tell you in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high treason, yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanours, &c. Nay, for misdemeanours, I am so clear in them, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will show you that I think my lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me or the commonwealth in any place of trust; no not so much as a constable."

Notwithstanding this solemn testimony of Charles himself of the misconduct of Strafford, yet so implicated was he in his lordship's system of governing Ireland, that he appointed, by Strafford's re-

 commendation,

commendation, his kinsman sir Henry Wandesworth to succeed him. Nay, so infatuated was the king with the system of his favourite, that upon the death of Wandesworth, which happened soon after his appointment, he named lord Dillon, the friend and relative of Strafford, and sir William Parsons, as lords justices of the kingdom: but finding that lord Dillon was disagreeable to the Irish, on account of his alliance with Strafford, he cancelled the commission, and appointed sir John Borlase in his room.

No sooner were these ministers possessed of their power than they endeavoured to put the government on its former footing; they mollified the measures of Strafford's administration, and made the known laws of the land the standard of their government.

Charles finding that his frequent breaches of faith with the Irish, and the avowed misdemeanours of his favourite Strafford, had tended greatly to estrange the affections of his Irish subjects, made one more effort to recall their attachment by a fresh pledge of his royal word. He wrote to the lords justices a public letter of assurance, that his loving subjects should from thenceforth enjoy the graces promised to them in the fourth year of his reign. Soon after the receipt of this letter the parliament adjourned: and the lords justices, as they had been instructed, issued a proclamation of all his majesty's grants and graces, that they might be known to the people. During this recess the grand rebellion broke out, or rather was proclaimed.

In order to form a just knowledge of this period of Irish history, we must attend closely to the power and ascendancy which the puritan party had acquired in the kingdom. In many respects it was

was more extensive and more powerful in Ireland than in England; for the spirit of it not only pervaded every department of the state, civil, military, and clerical, but their efforts, being chiefly directed against the catholics, were eagerly seconded by all the protestants in the kingdom; the destruction of popery being a common object of their mutual zeal. The puritans dreaded the loyalty more than the religion of the catholics; but by persecuting them on the score of religion they attacked their means of supporting the royal cause, and associated all other protestants with them, while they could thus mask their batteries against the throne. As long, therefore, as the independents could keep up the division of Ireland into catholic and protestant, so long were the loyal protestants deceived in the assistance they gave to the arms of these rebels. It is impossible to fix the day on which the usurped power of the parliamentarians commenced, and the constitutional power of the crown ceased. From the moment of that usurpation resistance to the parliamentary power was loyalty, not treason. The Irish catholics were the first and last in arms for their king. The puritans wished to raise the catholics in arms at the period while they could command the co-operation of the other protestants to subdue them. It is therefore evident, that in Ireland the puritan party for a considerable time continued to forward their rebellious designs against the throne, under the appearance of loyalty, and submission to the royal authority, and with the concurrence of his majesty's arms. In every quarter of the kingdom, in every department of government, they found means to foment and raise what they called a popish rebellion. Borlase and Parsons, the lords justices, prevented the bills of grace

grace from passing, in direct contravention of the king's commands; they revived the persecution to the highest degree of irritation against the catholics, and published throughout Ireland certain petitions presented to the parliament of England, which were applications for the means of destroying the religion, lives, and estates of the Irish catholics. The Scotch covenanting army published similar restrictions, and the Irish believed them sincere in their declarations, that they would extirpate all the catholics from the province of Ulster, and enforce the covenant by the rope and the sword. Under these menaces and alarms, some few of the northern catholics associated and armed in self-defence against those whom they considered enemies to God and their king. Some private views will always on such occasions be mingled with the common cause; and in an affair of such diversified moment, a vast variety of causes must have co-operated to produce effects which so deeply affected the commonwealth. It is scarcely to be doubted that many were excited to rebellion by the success of the Scotch covenanters, who by their irruption into England had obtained the sum of two hundred thousand pounds to induce them quietly to return to their own country: others took up arms from a dread of the menaces of the covenanting army in Ireland, that they would extirpate every priest and papist out of the nation; while others, from a sincere but mistaken zeal to their own religion, opposed with violence all other forms. To these are also to be added the puritans, and most other descriptions of protestants, who, seized with the revolutionary spirit that then agitated England, closely followed its example by opposing all royal authority whatever. Numbers of

of the old Milesian Irish also seized upon this moment of weakness and confusion in the English cabinet to revive and enforce their long dormant claims to the kingdom, which they still considered as usurped by the English, and held by no other right than force: and no inconsiderable portion of the nation was stimulated into insurrection by their priests, who had been educated abroad, in hopes of procuring a civil establishment of the catholic religion; and by other foreign emissaries, from courts whose politics prompted them to weaken the power of the British empire by the internal dissension of its subjects. In short, it may be said, that numberless individuals bereft of their possessions by plantations and forfeitures, persecuted for the exercise of their religious duties, or prevented from any useful or permanent occupation by the effects or the abuse of the penal statutes, or the indolence of their own dispositions, composed a formidable body of malcontents, who sought redress, preferment, or existence, in the confusion of commotion and turbulence. These various motives probably operated upon the individuals; but the main source of the evil lay in the existence of real grievances, which formed a plausible rallying point to all.

On the 23d of October 1641 the lords justices issued a proclamation, by which they declared, "that a discovery had been made of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy, intended by some evil affected Irish papists, universally throughout the kingdom." The lords and gentlemen of the Pale immediately represented in a petition to the lords justices and council, that they and other innocent persons might seem to be involved as catholics in the general terms of the proclamation; whereupon

upon on the 29th of the same month they sent forth an explanatory proclamation, declaring, " that by the words *Irish papists* they intended only such of the old mere Irish in the province of Ulster as had plotted, contrived, and been actors in that treason, and others that adhered to them; and none of the old English of the Pale, or other parts of the kingdom."

The accounts given by different writers of the catholic or protestant persuasion, of the rise and progress of this rebellion, so flatly contradict each other, that the impartial historian is at a loss where to find materials for a true statement of facts. It is admitted by sir John Temple, the most violent writer against the Irish catholics, that " the rebels at their first risings out had not many better weapons than staves, scythes, and pitch-forks." Lord Clanrickard, to whom neither party refuses credit, says " that the Scots in Ulster were forty thousand well armed men when the rebellion commenced; at the same time that the rebels were at least by half less numerous, and furnished with few better weapons than staves, scythes, and pitchforks." The lords justices Parsons and Borlase, who inclined greatly to the puritan party, not only declined all offers, and checked every exertion of the catholics to put down the northern insurrection, but forced their ingenuity and power to the utmost, in order to drive the rest of the kingdom into a similar insurrection, for the base and profligate purpose of profiting of the forfeitures of those who should join in it; in which nefarious project they too effectually succeeded. The leaders of rebellion principally confined their attacks to the English settlements, and, agreeably to their scheme, left the Scottish planters unmolested. The En-

glish

glish were the objects of their detestation, and the measures of a puritanic government the perpetual subject of their complaint. Every party of them thundered out their detestation of England and English tyranny. This rancorous spirit was kept alive by false hopes of assistance and support. The rebels were sometimes assured that the Scots had really concurred in the design of extirpating the English. Sometimes their leaders boasted that they had risen by instructions and commission from the queen. In seizing Charlemont, O'Neal declared that he acted by authority of the English parliament. But these pretences were instantly laid aside as dangerous to their cause. On the succeeding day the Irish leader professed that he had the king's commission for taking arms. He produced a parchment with the great seal appending, which he affirmed to be this commission; and though he would not suffer it to be inspected, the bold assertion dismayed those protestants of the puritanic party who entertained no favourable sentiments of Charles, and who at sight of the great seal declared that they were a *sold people.* The commission itself soon appeared, drawn up in due form, and was notified with great solemnity to the Irish confederates.

In this instrument the king is made to declare to his catholic subjects of Ireland, "that for the preservation of his person he had long been obliged to take up his residence in Scotland, occasioned by the disobedience of the English parliament, which had deprived him of his royal power and prerogative, and assumed the government and administration of the realm; that as these *storms blow aloft*, and are likely to be carried into Ireland by the vehemency of the *protestant* party, he hath given full power to his

his catholic subjects to assemble and consult, to seize all places of strength, except those of the Scots, and to arrest the goods and persons of all English *protestants* within the kingdom of Ireland." The first report of this commission was instantly counteracted by a proclamation of the lords justices, in which they warned the subjects against the delusion of false and seditious rumours derogatory to the honour of the crown. At the end of this unhappy war, the rebel leader, their clergy, and their agents, all uniformly declared that they had no commission from the king, but had invented the tale to collect and animate their followers. The dying declaration of lord Macguire disclaimed any commission from the king. O'Neal on his trial and at his death was tempted to confess that he had acted by authority of Charles, and to produce the proof of his commission. On his trial he peremptorily declared *he never had received any commission*. He explained the means by which his Irish followers were deceived; he declared, that in ransacking the castle of Charlemont he found a patent of lord Caulfield's, from which he took the great seal, and affixed it to a forged commission. At the hour of his execution he persisted in a solemn disavowal of ever having received any commission from the king for levying or prosecuting the war.

The fabrication of this commission by O'Neal is, unquestionably, a strong evidence in favour of the loyalty of the Irish catholics, who could on no other grounds be induced to take up arms, but in support and defence of the king, his crown, and dignity. The king's conduct at this time appeared to them as the effect of compulsion; for they never could believe that the king of Ireland could

adopt the unconstitutional and unjust measure of committing to his English parliament the care and whole government of the kingdom of Ireland, which then had an independent parliament of its own.

The dreadful scenes of massacre and slaughter that now ensued in Ireland, according to the accounts of some authors, are disgraceful and disgusting in the extreme. Humanity shudders at the horrid description of revengeful retaliation which is attributed to the Irish under O'Neal. It is said* "that a defeat which he met with at Lisburn provoked him to a degree of rage truly diabolical. Lord Caulfield, who had been conveyed to one of his houses, was wantonly and basely murdered. Fifty others in the same place fell by the poniards of the Irish. Their miserable prisoners confined in different quarters were brought out under pretence of being conducted to the next English settlement. Their guards goaded them forward like beasts, exulting in their sufferings. Sometimes they inclosed them in some house or castle, which they set on fire with a brutal indifference to their cries. Sometimes the captive English were plunged into the first river; and one hundred and ninety were at once precipitated from the bridge of Portadown." There are, in fact, no bounds to the exaggerations of historians as to the numbers said to have been massacred by the Irish in this rebellion. Sir John Temple says that one hundred and fifty thousand protestants were massacred in cold blood, in the two first months of the rebellion. Sir William Petty coolly calculates that

* Leland, after MS. depositions.

thirty

thirty thousand British were killed, out of war, in the first year of this insurrection. Dr. Warner, on the other hand, though very adverse to the Irish, from the best sources of intelligence, and the most authentic documents, states the number killed in the two first years at four thousand and twenty-eight, and the number of those who died by ill usage at eight thousand.

The same contrariety of assertion is applied to the dreadful massacre of the Irish at Island-Magee. Leland says, upon the same authority, (the manuscript depositions of the county of Antrim,) that the British settlers who were settled in places of security, forgot that their suffering brethren had been in several instances rescued from destruction and protected by the old natives. Their abhorrence was violent and indiscriminate; and it transported them to that very brutal cruelty which had provoked their abhorrence. The Scottish soldiers in particular, who had reinforced the garrison of Carrickfergus, were possessed with an habitual hatred of popery, and inflamed to an implacable hatred of the Irish; in one fatal night they issued forth from Carrickfergus into an adjacent district called Island-Magee, where a number of the poorer Irish resided, unoffending, and untainted by the rebellion. Thirty families were assailed by them in their beds, and massacred with calm and deliberate cruelty. Other writers, in the catholic interest, assert the number thus murdered to exceed three thousand.

The lords and gentlemen of the Pale whose houses had been burned, whose lands had been destroyed, whose tenants had been murdered by the earl of Ormond under these parliamentary justices, renewed their application to government to accept of

of their best endeavours to put a stop to the insurrection now daily increasing throughout the kingdom; but their overtures were indignantly rejected. The earl of Castlehaven was imprisoned; and sir John Read was put to torture for what was termed officious interference. By such unjust, impolitic, and irritating measures were the whole body of the Irish catholic nobility and gentry compelled, for self-preservation, to unite in a regular system of defence; which to this day is most unwarrantably styled an odious and an unnatural rebellion. Yet nothing can more emphatically demonstrate their loyal principles, than the oath of confederacy by which they bound themselves to each other on this occasion: it is expressive of unqualified allegiance to the king, and contains an undertaking to support and defend the royal person, honours, estates, dignities, and prerogatives, against all impugners thereof, &c. Indeed it is now sufficiently well known, that if the English had as early, sincerely, and zealously resisted the usurpation of these parliamentarian regicides as did the Irish catholics, the melancholy catastrophe of Charles with all its fatal consequences would certainly have been prevented.

The king, considering the circumstances of this general confederacy of the catholics of Ireland, signed a commission on the 14th of January 1642, directed to the marquis of Ormond, the earls of Clanrickard and Roscommon, viscount Moore, sir Thomas Lucas, sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Bourke, esq. to meet the principal confederates, who had petitioned his majesty to listen to their grievances, to receive from them in writing what they had to propound. The marquis of Ormond was a man of much personal courage, and possessed

possessed some military knowledge; but he was immoderately ambitious, vindictive, haughty, and impatient of control: such was his implacable hatred to the catholics, that he not only contravened the commands and wishes of his royal master, but basely descended to execute the orders of his determined enemies. These were a committee consisting of Goodwyn and Reynolds, sent over to Ireland by the English parliament in opposition to the king's express command. They were received and their authority recognized by the lords justices; and were admitted without the king's consent to a seat in the privy-council, and their opinion gave the tone to the decisions of the board. Preferring to obey the commands of this committee to a compliance with the pacific injunctions of his sovereign, Ormond marched with an army of five thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse towards Ross. In this expedition nearly one thousand of his countrymen lost their lives. Ormond was the only one of the commissioners named by the king who did not attend the meeting of the confederates at Trim; where they delivered to the rest of the commissioners a very full remonstrance of all their grievances, which was transmitted to the king.

In consequence of this remonstrance, which deeply affected the king, his majesty informed the lords justices, that he had authorized the marquis of Ormond to treat with his Irish subjects who had taken up arms, for a cessation of hostilities for one year, and charged them to give him effectual assistance to advance the same. Sir William Parsons was superseded, and indicted for high crimes and misdemeanors, particularly for opposing the cessation. Sir John Borlase and sir Henry Tichborne

were

were now the lords justices; the latter of whom was expressly appointed, as being known to favour the cessation. Ormond was once more appointed by the king's command and an order of the lords justices to confer with the confederates at Castle Martin in the county of Kildare, on the 23d of June 1642. Here he exhibited the manners of an unfriendly superior, received the commissioners of the confederates with contempt, indignantly calling for the authority by which they appeared; upon which they gave him a copy of the authority which they had received from the supreme council of the confederate catholics at Kilkenny. He then contested their title, and questioned the facts presumed or referred to in their authority; and peremptorily rejected the condition insisted upon by the confederates, of the dissolution of the present and the calling of a new parliament; notwithstanding the king's positive commands to obtain a cessation on these terms. It seems evident that Ormond was as determined in his disobedience to the king as the most staunch parliamentarian of that day. By his contrivances the cessation was suspended till the 7th of September 1643, when his majesty's commands upon this subject were at length submitted to. Notwithstanding his detestation of the catholics, Ormond was equally convinced with the king of their immoveable loyalty and unshaken attachment to the crown. He procured from them a voluntary payment of thirty thousand pounds, and a reinforcement of some thousands of their best men for his majesty's armies in Scotland, who proved an honour to their country and an essential service to the royal cause.

Scarcely was the treaty for the cessation signed, than it was rejected by the northern army, which as

as well as the rest of the king's forces in Ireland was under the command of Ormond. This step was immediately followed up by their taking the covenant; and even such of the English army as had formally accorded to the cessation, offered their services to follow Monroe whenever he should march against the Irish.

About the same time lord Inchiquin openly revolted against the king, and caused to be administered an oath to each of his followers for the extirpation of popery, and the extermination of the Irish. The cessation was considered by the English parliament as so destructive of the protestant interest, that they immediately made a declaration against it; in answer to which his majesty published "*the grounds and motives of the cessation,* for which," he says, "there was an absolute necessity, as preparatory to a peace; which nevertheless he would never admit, unless it were such a peace as might be agreeable to conscience, honour, and justice."

The confederates sent over so many and such seasonable supplies to the king, and these Irish troops behaved with so much zeal and valour in the royal cause, that the English parliament on the 24th of October 1644 published this bloody ordinance, "that no quarter should be given to any Irishman, or papist born in Ireland, that should be taken in hostility against the parliament, either upon sea or in England or Wales. The hostilities now daily committed on the confederates by Monroe in Ulster, sir Charles Coote in Connaught, and lord Inchiquin in Munster, occasioned them to petition the marquis of Ormond, now made lord lieutenant, either to put himself at their head, or permit them to employ their forces against those, who

who by violating the armistice had avowed themselves open enemies to the king. This petition, however, the crafty Ormond evaded a compliance with, not choosing by such a measure to declare the catholic confederates the loyal subjects of their sovereign. Such was the virulence of this imperious governor against the catholics, and such also his sway over his royal master, that he contrived with consummate art to delay the peace, in opposition to the king's positive and pressing commands, until such a measure was rendered unavailing by the cessation of the exercise of the royal authority, after the imprisonment of his majesty's person in the year 1646.

Thwarted and provoked as the unfortunate monarch was by the conduct of Ormond in counteracting all his efforts to ingratiate himself with the confederated catholics, he yet could never summon sufficient resolution openly to avow a decided disapprobation of his favourite. Being, however, fearful that his harshness towards the catholics should alienate their attachment to the royal cause, he endeavoured to effect his purpose by the secret influence of his authority over those who had ever respected it. He accordingly granted the most ample and extraordinary powers to the earl of Glamorgan, a catholic nobleman, whose influence in Ireland was very great, for the express purpose of counteracting the measures of Ormond, which were so notoriously hostile to the confederates; and his majesty pledged the honour of a king and a christian to ratify whatever Glamorgan should think fit to grant to them under his hand and seal; "the said confederates having," said the king, "*by their supplies testified their zeal to our service.*" After this acknowledgment of the loyalty and zeal of the

 confederates

confederates by the king himself, it is but a fair and reasonable inference to suppose that in their subsequent endeavours to obtain succours and aid from the king of Spain, the court of Rome, or the duke of Lorrain, the catholics of Ireland were actuated by loyal motives towards their sovereign, who himself drew considerable succours from the same quarters.

Still were the confederates made the dupes and victims of the duplicity of Charles, redoubled upon them by the malevolent intrigues of Ormond, who on this occasion professed loyalty, whilst he practised disobedience to his royal master, and hypocritically pretended a confidence in Glamorgan and the confederates, whilst he was planning the ruin of both. The confederates through his insinuations were prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the pope's agent and nuncio, to make peace *publicly* with the marquis of Ormond, and *privately* with the earl of Glamorgan, disjoining the *religious* from the *political* articles. The general assembly of the confederates which met at Kilkenny on the 6th of March 1646 dispatched lord Muskerry and other commissioners to Dublin, publicly to conclude the peace with the marquis of Ormond, and it was accordingly concluded on the 28th of the same month. But the *secret* treaty had been concluded with the earl of Glamorgan on the 25th of the preceding month of August; the conditions of which related chiefly to the toleration of the catholic religion, and the sending over subsidies to the king in England.

A circumstance in the mean time occurred, which made the particulars of this private treaty public. At the time when the confederates were urgent with the marquis of Ormond to declare the northern

northern covenanters rebels, he was artfully endeavouring to ingratiate himself with these forces, and to bring them over to the king's service and government; and not only the old British troops, but even Monroe and his Scots showed some disposition to unite with the chief governor upon moderate terms. The English parliament, alarmed at the consequences of such an union, resolved to send supplies of money, clothing, and provision for the service of Ulster. Meanwhile their trusty partisan sir Charles Coote, who commanded in Connaught, was dispatched with a requisition to the British generals in the north, that they should assist him against the rebels in his government, and particularly to reduce the town of Sligo, their principal place of strength. After some hesitation, four thousand foot and five hundred horse were detached from the Scottish and English forces. Sligo soon surrendered, and all the adjacent counties exposed to their depredations. At the same time the confederates of Kilkenny, alarmed and provoked at the hostilities of the northerns pending the negotiation for peace, directed sir James Dillon to march with eight hundred men to the assistance of the archbishop of Tuam, who was collecting forces for the recovery of Sligo. This military prelate led the assault, forced his way into the town, and was on the point of expelling the British garrison, when his forces were suddenly alarmed with the intelligence that a strong army of the northerns was approaching. They immediately retired, but were attacked and routed by sir Charles Coote. The archbishop fell on this occasion; and in ransacking his baggage, the parliamentarians found, besides other papers of consequence, an authentic copy of the private treaty which

which had been concluded with the earl of Glamorgan.

This important acquisition was instantly transmitted to the English parliament; by order of which the papers were printed, and industriously dispersed, to the great joy and exultation of the king's enemies. Charles himself, with a meanness of soul which is a blot upon his memory, protested upon the word of *a king and a christian*, that he had never given to the earl of Glamorgan those commissions and powers which he was then known by many, and now known by all, to have repeatedly given.

With still more criminal baseness and effrontery, the marquis of Ormond and lord Digby, both of whom well knew the commission and authority under which Glamorgan had acted, caused him to be indicted of high treason for forging or surreptitiously obtaining those very commissions, and his person was immediately committed to close custody. This colourable commitment was not however of long duration: he was discharged upon the recognizance of himself and the earl of Kildare; the confederates having peremptorily persisted in breaking off the treaty for peace until the earl should be discharged.

After such a public exposure of the royal faith, it is not to be wondered at that the confederated Irish, thus finding themselves deluded and betrayed, should in their subsequent negotiations require some more stable security for the performance of articles agreed to than the mere word of a monarch so repeatedly violated. Under these circumstances a very serious ground of dissension arose among them, which retarded the conclusion of the peace, and greatly weakened their power; and this internal

nal division of the catholics was most actively fomented by Ormond. The nuncio of the pope and a considerable party of the confederates objected to any treaty which had only *future* concession for its basis; but a great majority still continued to repose an unlimited confidence in the promises of the king and his Machiavelian lord lieutenant. But however divided they were upon this and some other less important points, they all unanimously to the last adhered, with inviolable attachment, staunch to the royal cause.

The treaty concluded with Ormond at Dublin was attended with a conditional obligation, by which the king was absolved from all his concessions, unless the succours promised by the confederates were furnished. The latter engaged to transport for the king's service in England six thousand foot, well armed and provided, by the first of April; and four thousand more in a month after. In the mean time the treaty was to be deposited in the hands of lord Clanrickard, now created a marquis, as an instrument of no validity until the troops should be sent away. Thus far was the long-protracted treaty brought to a final conclusion, when the succours, which were so grand a part of it to the unhappy Charles, could scarcely be employed to any effectual purpose in England.

The distressed state of the king not enabling him to furnish even transports for the conveyance of these troops, and the depredations of sir Charles Coote and his parliamentarians in Scotland becoming so insufferably violent and so truly alarming, the confederates renewed their urgent solicitation to the marquis of Ormond, to lead them against these open enemies of the king, or at least to unite his forces to theirs, and proceed with vigour against their common foe: but he resisted their pressing

pressing overtures. The marquis had, indeed, just received intelligence that the ill-fated Charles had resigned himself to the Scottish army; and conceiving that such an incident might require some change of measures, he determined to return a spirited answer to the confederates. In this answer he artfully observed that the necessity of union was too apparent; but that he would not unite with those who did not receive their authority from the king. He was however ready, he observed, to accept the assistance of any of the king's subjects, and on publication of the peace he might be more explicit. He insisted firmly on the suppression of Glamorgan's articles, which had been disavowed by the king, and that the treaty of Dublin should be immediately published. If these overtures were refused, he declared that the state of his majesty's affairs in Dublin must soon force him to seek some other way of recovering and supporting his authority in Ireland.

The result of this answer was, that the articles concluded with Ormond were immediately to be published by mutual consent; when a letter from the king forbade all further proceedings, and prohibited the lord lieutenant from concluding a treaty with the Irish on any conditions. Ormond might have been persuaded that this order was extorted; but it was not easy to persuade others, and suspense and confusion every where prevailed. During this embarrassment lord Digby arrived from the continent. He declared that the king was held captive by the Scots, who extorted from him such instructions to his servants as best suited their own purpose.

Ormond not only resisted their pressing invitations to lead them against the king's enemies, but also the urgent solicitations of lord Clanrickard to place

place himself at the head of the confederates, and immediately proceed against sir Charles Coote and the other parliamentarian rebels, who were daily violating the cessation, and committing the most barbarous hostilities against the adherents to the royal cause. He now even determined to surrender up the cause of the king altogether, and basely entered into terms with the commissioners of the parliamentarians, by which he stipulated with them for the price of disloyal surrender, namely, five thousand pounds in hand, and two thousand a year for five years, with a total release and discharge of all incumbrances upon his estate up to the time of the insurrection. He accordingly surrendered to the commissioners his sword, the castle, and the king's authority, and retired to England; from whence he fled to France. The parliamentarians were now complete masters of Dublin, where they scorned to delay the exercise of their authority even until the departure of Ormond.

A.D. 1647.

In this decline of the king's affairs the confederated catholics met again at Kilkenny, where they took into consideration "that his majesty was in restraint, that all addresses to him were forbidden, and that some members of parliament who had ventured to speak in his favour were expelled: therefore, in that extremity, (as they express themselves,) there being no access to his majesty to implore either his justice or his mercy, all laws, either human or divine, did allow the said catholics to take some other course in order to their defence and preservation---not against his sacred majesty, but against those who had laid violent hands on his person, who designed to abolish the royal authority, and resolved to destroy or extirpate the said catholics."

Ormond,

Ormond, to whose ambitious and self-interested views there were no bounds, having been thus indignantly forced into exile by those very enemies of the king to whom he had made the base and mercenary surrender of his high trust, dignity, and power, now strove to use the unshaken loyalty and severely tried attachment of the king's firmest and best friends as the instruments of his own revenge. He therefore dissembled for the moment his implacable rancour to his catholic countrymen, and affected, with unqualified reserve, to place the depending fate of his royal master in their exertions. The marquis arrived at Cork from France on the 29th of September 1648; and notwithstanding his former arrogant conduct towards the confederates, and his mercenary treachery in surrendering the royal dignity to the rebels, he was received with universal acclamation, and invited by the general assembly at Kilkenny to conclude a peace with the confederates, and earnestly join with the nation at large against the parliamentarians, who were by their principles generally engaged, and by the covenant were particularly sworn, to destroy monarchy, abolish the hierarchy, and extirpate the catholic religion. He was received in triumph at Kilkenny on the 28th of October 1648, and was lodged in his own castle with his own guards about him. Still, however, did Ormond reject every condition of peace proposed by the confederates that related to a toleration of the catholic religion, and the repeal of any of the penal laws. During this protraction of the peace, the treaty was interrupted by the open defection of Inchiquin's army, and their declaration against the king. Ormond had ever been intimate with this nobleman, and he now suspended the definitive treaty,

under

under the pretext of giving satisfaction to Inchiquin and his leading officers.

It has been shown how earnestly the king had long wished for, and how peremptorily he had commanded Ormond to make peace with the confederates. The consequences, therefore, which followed the protractions of that event, evidently lay at his door who caused the delays: it was only concluded on the 17th of January 1648, a fortnight before the tragical end of that unfortunate monarch. Had Ormond been actuated by any sense of the welfare of the state, by any regard to the preservation of the constitution, by any zeal for the support of his own religion, by any real attachment or even common loyalty to his sovereign, he could not have boasted as he did, "that the articles of the peace were not condescended to till all hopes of the treaty then on foot in England between the king and the parliament were overpassed, and the army were not ashamed to proclaim their purpose, to commit a horrid and execrable murder and parricide on the sacred person of his majesty. This (continues he) we mention, not as thereby in the least degree to invalidate any of the concessions made unto these people, but, on the contrary, to render them in every point the more sacred and inviolable by how much the necessity on his majesty's part for the granting thereof is the greater, and the submission on their part to his majesty's authority, in such his great necessity, more opportune and seasonable; as also to call the world (and whomsoever either any peace at all, or the terms of this peace, may be distasteful unto) to testify hereafter, that as the full benefit thereof cannot, without great injustice, and somewhat of ingratitude, (if we may so speak in the case of his majesty with reference

reference to this last act of theirs) be denied unto them, so any blame thereof ought to be laid upon those alone who have imposed the sad necessity, the saddest to which any king was ever reduced."

What share he assumed to himself of the disasters of his royal master, by having so long deprived him of the assistance of his catholic subjects, cannot be known; but certain it is, that this awful moment of embarrassment was the first in which he made any avowal favourable to that body of men. Besides the reluctant, the ungracious and half penitent admission of their persevering attachment to the king in his utmost distress, he said in a letter to lord Digby, written within a week of king Charles's death: "I must say for this people, that I have observed in them great readiness to comply with what I was able to give them, and a very great sense of the king's sad condition." And in another letter of the same date to the prince of Wales, he mentions "the very eminent loyalty of the assembly, which was not shaken by the success which God had permitted to the monstrous rebellion in England; nor by the mischievous practices of the no less malicious rebels in Ireland." Yet this *loyal assembly* had Ormond most cruelly persecuted, and to these *malicious rebels* did he surrender up the authority with which he was invested by his royal master. Ormond was at Youghall when the tidings of the death of the unhappy Charles were conveyed to him. He instantly proclaimed the prince of Wales king, by the title of Charles II.

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CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Interregnum, and the Reign of Charles II.

IN the first effervescence of the horror which all conceived of the murder of king Charles, the English and Irish vied with each other in their exertions against the parliamentarian rebels, whom they now denominated and treated as regicides. To this union were owing the first successful movements of Ormond's campaign in the reduction of most of the strong holds of the northern parts of the kingdom, except Dublin and Londonderry. The pride of Ormond stimulated him above all things to regain the possession of Dublin, which he had so basely surrendered. But the infamy of his giving it up for lucre was aggravated by his disgraceful defeat at Rathmines, about three miles from Dublin, by a very inferior force under Michael Jones, the rebel governor of the city. This shameful disaster, coupled with the ready submission of Inchiquin's men, who instantly inlisted in Jones's army, and several other circumstances attending the conduct of Ormond on this occasion, naturally renewed in the Irish their former suspicions that he had still some secret understanding with the English rebels; and these suspicions were strengthened by the constant failure of all his subsequent undertakings against them.

The new king had expressly written from the Hague, "that he had received, and was extremely well satisfied with, the articles of peace with the Irish confederates, and would confirm wholly and

entirely all that was contained in them." Notwithstanding this, after his majesty had been proclaimed in Scotland, and had been advised by Ormond to accept of the commissioners' invitation to go over to that kingdom, well knowing that his taking the covenant was to be the previous condition to his being admitted to the throne of Scotland, he took shipping, and landed there on the 23d of June 1650. After having signed both the national and solemn covenant in the short space of two months, the king published a declaration "that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; that he did detest and abhor popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy; resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow, those in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power." And he expressly pronounced the peace lately made with the Irish, and confirmed by himself, to be null and void; adding, "that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of his allowing them (the confederates) the liberty of the popish religion: for which he did from his heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord; and for having sought unto such unlawful help for the restoring of him to his throne." This declaration necessarily produced the effect which Ormond himself foretold in a letter to secretary Long, namely, "to withdraw this people from their allegiance, by infusing into them a belief, that by his majesty's having taken or approved of the covenant they are deprived of the benefit of the peace, and left to the extirpation the covenant proposes, both of their religion and their persons."

In the mean time the successes of the parliamentarians

tarians continued. When the former successful progress of Ormond first awakened the parliament to a sense of danger, Waller, their general, was displaced to make room for Lambert, who was in turn supplanted by Oliver Cromwell himself. That usurper, aware that the situation was one which would add to his consequence and power, contrived by his intrigues to be chosen lord lieutenant of Ireland by an unanimous vote of parliament. His intrepidity and vigour quickly dissipated all the difficulties of his undertaking, and he landed in Dublin on the 15th of August with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, twenty thousand pounds in money, and all other necessaries of war. Having intrusted the city to the care of sir Theophilus Jones, he took the field with ten thousand chosen men. Historians in general have represented the submission of the Irish to Cromwell as too hasty and unnecessary. The truth is, that the Irish suffered severely for the personal bravery and intrepidity which they displayed in defence of the royal cause. When Cromwell with his well-appointed army appeared before Drogheda, his summons to surrender was rejected. "On the 9th of September he began to batter the place," says Dr. Warner; "and continuing so to do till the next day in the evening, the assault was made, and his men twice repulsed with great bravery; but in the third attack, which Cromwell led himself, colonel Wall being killed at the head of his regiment, his men were so dismayed, that they submitted to the enemy offering them quarter, sooner than they had need to have done, and thereby betrayed themselves and fellow soldiers to the slaughter. The place was immediately taken by storm: and though his officers and

and soldiers had promised quarter to all that would lay down their arms, yet Cromwell ordered that no quarter should be given, and none was given accordingly. The slaughter continued all that day and the next, and the governor and four colonels were killed in cold blood." According to Leland, "this hideous execution was continued for five days, with every circumstance of horror. A number of ecclesiastics was found within the walls; and Cromwell, as if immediately commissioned to execute divine vengeance on these ministers of idolatry, ordered his soldiers to plunge their weapons into the helpless wretches. Some few of the garrison," continues the same author, "contrived to escape in disguise; thirty persons only remained unslaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppressed by carnage; and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes."

Cromwell, with his usual vigour, followed up the advantage which his butcheries had obtained for him in the consternation of the Irish, and marched with nine thousand men through the county of Wicklow, while his fleet attended the motions of this army. As he advanced, the forts and towns of inferior note surrendered; but at Wexford he found the garrison sufficiently strengthened to resist his progress. This place, however, fell by treachery into his possession, being betrayed into his hands by colonel Strafford, whom Ormond had made governor of the castle; and on this occasion Cromwell is described by Ormond, in a letter to the king, "to have exceeded himself, and any thing he had ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; and that the cruelties exercised there for five days would make as many

several

several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the book of Martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna."

Cromwell, after the reduction of Wexford, marched against Ross, which surrendered upon articles. The fort of Duncannon made a more honourable resistance; and so considerably had the victorious army been reduced by the severity of the season, that a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was sent from Dublin, and had been some time expected by Cromwell. Lord Inchiquin was informed of the march of these forces, and, with the consent of Ormond, resolved to intercept them. In this attempt he was foiled and defeated; yet Wogan, the officer who commanded in Duncannon, continued to make a brave defence. By the assistance and encouragement of lord Castlehaven he made a sally with such vigour and success, that the siege was raised, not without some confusion on the part of the besiegers. On retiring to their main body they found the general transporting his troops to the county of Kilkenny by a bridge of boats constructed on the Barrow. Ormond, who had concluded his accommodation with Owen O'Neal, and had already received part of his forces, made some preparations for disputing the passage of the river; but Cromwell, superior in vigilance and expedition, as well as numbers, had already transported his army, and obliged the marquis gradually to retire to Kilkenny. Here he found the rest of the northern Irish forces ready to receive his commands. The presence of their favourite general, however, was wanting, for O'Neal now laboured under a malady that soon put a period to his life. So powerful a reinforcement appeared to

encourage

encourage Ormond to the design of meeting the enemy in the field.

Defection and dissensions, however, still continued to effect more for the parliamentarians than even the valour of their armies, the skill of their general, or even the terror which resulted from their dreadful cruelties could have achieved. Town after town, and fortress after fortress, fell into their possession, until at length all Ireland, with the exception of the province of Connaught, was in the power of the rebels, under the command of Ireton, whom Cromwell had appointed general in chief upon his return to England, where now his views of ambition directed the display of his subtle energies.

It was at this juncture of the king's affairs in Ireland that Ormond withdrew from that kingdom a second time. Whatever party prejudice may allege in charge, commendation, or defence of Ormond, and no character was ever more partially represented, the truth is now unquestionably ascertained as to the leading facts which constituted that character. After his disgrace at Rathmines he never engaged in person Cromwell, Ireton, or Jones; but at this moment he abandoned the royalists in their utmost need, and sought his own personal safety a second time by flight; and not only did he continue to receive the price of his former surrender of Dublin to the rebels, but the marchioness of Ormond, during the whole time of her lord's proscription, three thousand pounds per annum, by favour from Cromwell.

So grossly inconsistent with the late peace was the king's subscription to the covenant, that Ormond, after having advised his majesty to take it, affected

affected publicly to discredit the report of his having taken it. The confederacy, however, not only believed that the king had, as the fact was, debased himself, and betrayed them by covenanting with the murderers of his father, but that Ormond had approved of and advised the measure. Several of them, therefore, with a large part of their clergy, assembled at Jamestown in their present embarrassment, and, after much deliberation, determined that the clergy should endeavour by ecclesiastical censures to withdraw all persons of their own communion from the command of Ormond: they accordingly, assuming that his lordship would now publicly promote, as he had ever secretly favoured, the covenanters, published an excommunication against all such catholics as should inlist under, feed, help, or adhere to his excellency, or assist him in any manner whatever. But lest their loyalty to their constitutional monarch should be suspected, they involved in the same sentence of excommunication all such catholics as should adhere to the common enemies of God, their king, and country. When Ormond quitted Ireland he left the wreck of his powers to lord Clanrickard, who had often before remonstrated with him on those measures of his government which tended to alienate the affections of the nation from the royal cause; and when he received the government from Ormond, he was fully sensible of the impossibility of effecting any thing for the service of his royal master. Although the king, still being in the hands of the Scots, dared not openly avow the treaty then pending with the duke of Lorrain to re-establish the royal authority in Ireland, yet he did all he privately could to forward it; and when he was out of the hands of the Scots, he wrote to his

his highness from Paris to solicit assistance from him and other catholic princes against his and their enemies. Even Ormond himself, finding his once favoured puritans going greater lengths than he perhaps wished or expected, notwithstanding his horror of popery, did not scruple to recommend the sending *fitting ministers, and proposing apt inducements* to the pope, for his interposition with the catholic princes to enable the king's catholic subjects of Ireland to make head against the rebels.

The marquis of Clanrickard continued for some time to carry on the appearance of hostilities, from a vain hope of making a diversion in favour of the king's English enterprises: but at length reduced to the utmost distress, his troops dispersed, and his resources exhausted, he accepted conditions from the republicans, and retired from Ireland.

A. D. 1652. In the mean time the parliament of England concerted measures for the final settlement of the administration of Ireland. Lambert was appointed successor to Ireton: but the intrigues of Cromwell caused the parliament to deny him any higher title than that of commander in chief; with which, as the usurper wished, Lambert was offended, and refused to accept the command. It was conferred on Fleetwood, who had lately married the relict of Ireton, and of course was particularly devoted to his father-in-law Cromwell.

Upon the arrival of Fleetwood in Ireland, he found there scarcely the remains of war, and the Irish of all orders were reduced to accept terms from the triumphant republicans. The first act of the administration thus confirmed under the auspices of a republican usurper, after a dreadful conflict of eleven years, was to collect all the native Irish

Irish who had survived the general desolation and remained in the country, and transplant them into the province of Connaught, which had been depopulated and laid waste in the progress of the rebellion. They were ordered to retire thither by a certain day, and forbidden to repass the Shannon on pain of death; and this sentence of deportation was rigidly enforced until the restoration. Their antient possessions were seized and given up to the conquerors, as were the possessions of every man who had taken a part in what was termed the rebellion, or had followed the fortune of the king after the murder of Charles I. This whole fund was distributed among the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, in satisfaction of the arrears of their pay, and amongst the adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expenses of the war. And thus a new colony of settlers, composed of all the sects which then infested England, independents, socinians, anabaptists, seceders, brownists, millenarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them filled with the spirit of democracy, poured into Ireland, and were put in possession of the antient inheritance of its inhabitants *. Such were the blessings of republican liberty dealt out by Cromwell.

Oliver, shortly after he was proclaimed protector, sent his son Henry into Ireland to sound the disposition of the army, to reconcile men's minds to the usurpation, and by cultivating the friendship of those who possessed great influence to prepare the way for the future government of this kingdom.

This period of the history of Ireland is peculiarly barren of incident. On the death of Oliver,

* Speech of earl Clare on the 16th of February, 1800.

Richard

Richard Cromwell confirmed his brother Henry in the government of Ireland by the new title of lord lieutenant.

A.D. 1658. He summoned the members chosen for Ireland to this parliament: the republicans opposed the admission of thirty men known to be advocates for the ruling power; but the court, with difficulty, at length prevailed that they should sit and vote. The news of the dissolution of this parliament, and the intrigues of the royal party, was first brought to Ireland by sir Charles Coote. The lieutenant exerted himself with vigour to support the tottering power of his brother. On the restoration of the rump parliament he laboured to prevent the disorders which might arise from this sudden revolution. He issued a proclamation to preserve the peace; and, on consulting with his officers, sent agents to the council of state with proposals relative to the civil and military government of Ireland. They were referred to the parliament as it was called, who made some ordinances for the benefit of the adventurers and soldiers: and at the same time resolved that the government of Ireland should be again administered by commissioners, that Henry Cromwell should be recalled, and Ludlow appointed to command the forces of the commonwealth in that kingdom. The sentiments of Henry Cromwell were those of passive obedience to the parliament; but the new commissioners, doubting his sincerity, expected opposition on his part, and prepared measures accordingly. They however were received without any obstacle into the castle, while Henry retired to a house in the Phœnix park, having administered the government with such disregard to his private interests, that he could not

immediately command so much money as would defray the expense of a voyage to England.

From the moment of the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the royalists of Ireland conceived the most sanguine hope of the king's speedy restoration. This happy event soon followed. Charles was informed of the favourable appearances which were manifested, and but for the great expectation which at that time was cherished of the success of Monk in England, would certainly have repaired to Ireland, whither he was earnestly invited by lord Broghill, sir Charles Coote, and others, who now espoused the cause of royalty. The body of the nation at length caught the flame of loyalty, and waited with impatience for the declaration of Breda. This was readily accepted; and king Charles II. was proclaimed with every manifestation of joy in all the great towns of Ireland.

A. D. 1660.

The situation of Ireland at the restoration is more easily described than credited: a people who had continued in arms staunch to the royal cause nearly three years longer than any other part of the British empire, reduced to two thirds of their population by their contests with the regicides, by massacres, famine, and pestilence, stripped of any armed force for defence or attack, expatriated at home, and divested of the remnants of their antient inheritances. Thus were these unfortunate wrecks of the native Irish, the devoted victims to their loyalty, penned up like hunted beasts in the devastated wilds of Connaught, hardly existing in the gregarian and promiscuous possession and cultivation of the soil, without the means of acquiring live or dead stock, and wanting even the necessary utensils of husbandry. Surely, if ever Ireland had a call of gratitude

tude on the crown of England, it was at the restoration of Charles II.: yet the first legislators after the restoration was established confirmed the rebellious regicides in the wages of their sanguinary rebellion. Broghill, who was created earl of Orrery, and sir Charles Coote, created earl of Monmouth, were nominated lords justices of Ireland; and sir Maurice Eustace, an old and particular friend of Ormond, was appointed lord high chancellor. By the advice and management of these persons with Ormond was the whole settlement of the kingdom conducted. These persons were all known and determined enemies to the Irish catholics, and their measures were such as might from that circumstance naturally be expected. They contrived to call a new parliament, in which it was enacted no member should be qualified to sit in the house of commons but such as had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; while the speaker of the house of lords (the archbishop of Armagh) proposed that all the members thereof should receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper from his grace's own hands. With the like view of preventing the Irish catholics from sending over agents to England to counteract the state commissioners who were soliciting the English parliament to except the Irish catholics out of the act of oblivion and general pardon, the convention at Dublin put in execution all the severe laws and ordinances made by the usurpers, by which the catholics were prevented from going from one province to another to transact their business, such as had the more considerable estates were imprisoned, and all their letters to and from the capital were intercepted: the gentry were forbidden to meet, and were thereby deprived of the means of

 agreeing

agreeing upon agents to take care of their interests, and of an opportunity to represent their grievances at the foot of the throne. The reports of popish plots and conspiracies were resorted to for the purpose of alarming the English parliament into the measure of excluding the Irish catholics from the general pardon, and quieting possessions in Ireland. Charles published a proclamation for apprehending and prosecuting all Irish rebels (a term then used as synonymous with Irish catholics), and commanding that adventurers, soldiers, and others, who were possessed of any lands, should not be disturbed in their possessions until legally evicted, or his majesty by advice of parliament should take further order therein.

All historians agree, that the most aggravated, extravagant, and unfounded reports against the Irish were brought to England, and there received with avidity, and circulated with every accumulation of inventive malice by incredible numbers of projectors, suitors, sufferers, claimants, solicitors, pretenders, and petitioners, who thronged the court, and looked to the Irish forfeitures as the sure fund for realising their various speculations. Such, however, was the effect of these manœuvres and other means, that when the state commissioners from Ireland petitioned the parliament of England to exclude the Irish catholics from the general indemnity, the duke of Ormond opposed it, alleging *that his majesty reserved the cognizance of that matter to himself*, though it was notorious that the king had some days before in his speech informed the parliament, that he expected in relation to the Irish that they would have a care of his honour, and of the promise he had made them. This promise, received from Breda

 through

through the marquis of Ormond, stated explicitly, that he would perform all grants and concessions which he had either made them or promised them by that peace; and which, as he had new instances of their loyalty and affection to him, he should study rather to enlarge than diminish, or infringe in the least degree. Nevertheless the Irish catholics were excluded from the general indemnity, to their ruin, the exultation and triumph of their enemies, and the astonishment of all impartial men.

Ormond was now reinstated in the government of Ireland, and by him were framed and settled the king's declaration, the acts of settlement and explanation: by him were made out the lists of persons excepted by name, amounting to about five hundred, after the ruinous effects of the act of settlement. By him was recommended the court of claims, and under his influence were appointed the first members of it, whose interested partiality and corruption became too rank even for their patron to countenance. He then substituted men of real respectability to fill their places, but so stinted them in their time for investigating the claims of the dispossessed proprietors, that they were compelled to apply for further time to go through several thousand unheard claims, which Ormond opposed, and rejected a clause in the bill for the relief of these unheard claimants.

When the sympathy and justice of his royal master balanced between the claims of the English protestants and the Irish catholics, Ormond's efforts to bias the king in favour of the former could not fail to be successful. Conscious as he was of that monarch's disposition and secret wishes to favour the catholics, he did all he could to raise divisions

visions amongst them, by dividing the clergy upon a punctilious form of oath, by which it was then in contemplation to allow the catholics to express their allegiance to their sovereign. Not contented with the indignant rejection of the clergy's remonstrances, he ordered them to disperse, and soon after banished them out of the nation: and so rigorously was this effected, that when Ormond quitted the government there were only three catholic bishops remaining in the kingdom: two of them were bed-ridden, and the third kept himself in concealment.

So far was Ormond from having suffered by these rebellious insurrections or civil wars in Ireland, that we learn from a letter written by his intimate and particular friend, the earl of Anglesey, and published during the life of the duke, "that his grace and his family, by the forfeitures and punishment of the Irish, were the greatest gainers of the kingdom; and had added to their inheritance vast scopes of land, and a revenue three times greater than what his paternal estate was before the rebellion, and that most of his increase was out of their estates who adhered to the peaces of 1646 and 1648, or served under his majesty's ensign abroad." During the remainder of the reign of Charles II. many malicious attempts were made to stigmatize the Irish with fresh rebellions, which always served as a pretext for enforcing the execution of the penal laws against the catholics. The duke of Ormond, of whose conduct both to the king and his countrymen such opposite opinions have been formed, and whose government we have traced to the present period, was now daily declining in power and influence, through the intrigues of the duke of Buckingham and the

 earl

earl of Orrery: he was first succeeded in the government of Ireland by lord Robarts, and afterwards by the earl of Essex. He was however again taken into favour and restored to the situation of lord lieutenant, which he retained till the death of Charles II., though that king, a very short time before that event, had intimated to the duke of Ormond his intention of sending over the earl of Rochester to assume the government in his stead: his grace's removal was however so far determined upon by the ruling interest of the empire at that period, that it constituted one of the earliest acts of James II.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

CHAP. VIII.

Reign of James II.

THE short reign of this unfortunate monarch was pregnant with events of the deepest importance to the Irish nation. That the joy of the Irish catholics at the accession of a prince to the throne who was universally known to be a catholic, should be excessive, and even intemperate, is by no means surprising. The turn of the state of politics in this kingdom was rapid and complete.

The earl of Clarendon succeeded Ormond, but he was probably too firmly attached to the protestant interest to give as largely into James's measures as the court wished. His instructions clearly bespoke the king's intention of introducing catholics into corporations, and investing them with magistracies and judicial offices; and being called upon by his instructions to give his opinion on the legality of the measure, he expressed his readiness to comply with his majesty's commands, although contrary to the act of Elizabeth. The army was however soon filled with catholic officers, the bench with catholic judges, except three who retained their seats; the corporations with catholic members, and the counties with catholic sheriffs and magistrates. The earl of Tyrconnel was appointed commander in chief of the army, and made independent of the lord lieutenant. On the very rumour of these proceedings alarm and consternation seized the protestant part of the kingdom:

kingdom: and most of the traders and others whose fortunes were transferable fled from a country in which they expected a speedy establishment of popery, and general transmutation of property. The catholics now feeling themselves secure at least in their religion, induced Tyrconnel to go to England in order to prevail upon the king to accede to their favourite measure of breaking through the act of settlement. The king however saw more inconvenience in throwing the whole national property into a new state of disorder and confusion than these did, who had been suffering during twenty years from the deprivation of their birth-right. Tyrconnel was himself a great enemy to the act of settlement, and he so worked upon the king as to dispose him to consent to the repeal of that act, and he soon returned to Ireland as lord deputy. Tyrconnel was personally obnoxious to the protestants, he was impetuous, resolute, and imperious: he possessed an unbounded influence over the king; and having in his youth been a witness to the bloody carnage at Drogheda, he had ever retained an abhorrence of fanaticism, with the spirit of which he considered all protestants more or less infected. Nothing more was wanting to alienate the affections of the protestants from James and his government; and ere this unfortunate monarch, by the advice of imprudent and insidious counsellors, had been brought to abdicate the crown of England, the whole protestant interest of Ireland had already associated against him.

Long before king James left England, the protestants in the north of Ireland were generally in arms, training and disciplining themselves to oppose by force the measures of his government. This

This formidable armed force of the northern protestants had been gaining strength several months before the landing of William prince of Orange in Torbay; and they continued daily in an improving state of organization and regular warfare against the existing government of the country; for it must be recollected that James II. continued to be king of Ireland, notwithstanding his abdication of the throne of England; since by the constitution of Ireland, neither the people of England nor the parliament of England could dissolve or transfer the allegiance of the people of Ireland; which long had been, then was, and continued till the Union to be an independent kingdom. This singular epoch, therefore, of the Irish history furnishes the most simple demonstration of the necessity of an incorporate union, and exposes the monstrous anomaly of several independent kingdoms under one sovereign.

Ireland now again exhibited a gloomy scene of oppression, dejection, insolence and despair; of power exercised without decency, and injuries sustained without redress. That English interest, which princes and statesmen had laboured to establish in this country, was discouraged, depressed, and threatened with final extirpation.

The enterprise of the prince of Orange against England was yet a secret to James when Tyrconnel received intelligence of his design from Amsterdam, and conveyed it to the king, who received it with derision. The Irish catholics, conceiving themselves subjects of king James, at first affected to despise the prince of Orange and his attempts; but they soon learned the rapidity of his successes in England, that king James was deserted by his subjects, and that the revolution every day gained new adherents.

adherents. The distracted state of this unhappy kingdom can scarcely be described. The protestants in the north proclaimed William and Mary, which, by Tyrconnel and the catholics, was deemed an act of rebellion. An army was formed of about thirty thousand men, and officered chiefly with catholics. James, who was then at the court of Louis XIV., gave constant assurances that he would come to Ireland and head them in person. He accordingly sailed from Brest with a strong armament, having on board twelve hundred men of his own adherents, who were then in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers, and landed at Kinsale in March 1689: from thence he proceeded to Dublin, where he was received as king with great pomp and solemnity. He issued five several proclamations, by the last of which he summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th day of May; which did meet, and sat from that day to the 12th of July, and then adjourned to the 12th of November following.

A. D. 1688.

After these acts the scene changed to open warfare. The reduction of the protestants in the north who had declared for William was the first object of the attention of James, who determined to march to Derry, and appear in person before their walls. The defenders of Derry and Enniskillen supported the cause of the revolutionists against James's forces till the arrival of an English army of forty thousand men under count Schomberg, which was afterwards commanded by William in person.

Ireland at this time, exhausted by unhappy wars, could not supply James with the money necessary for his purposes, and among the acts of his short reign

reign in that kingdom there was one which has fixed a peculiar odium upon his character. In defiance of law, reason, and humanity, he seized the tools and engines of one Moore, who by virtue of a patent of the late king enjoyed the right of a copper coinage in Ireland, and established a mint in Dublin and Limerick. Brass and copper of the basest kind, old cannon, broken bells, household utensils, were assiduously collected; and from every pound weight of such vile materials, valued at four-pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value. By the first proclamation they were made current in all payments to and from the king and the subjects of the realm, excepting the duties on importation of foreign goods, money lent in trust, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promised, that when this money should be called in, he would receive it in all payments, or make full satisfaction in gold or silver. His soldiers were now paid in this coin, it was forced on the protestant traders, the nominal value was raised by subsequent proclamations, the original restrictions were removed, and this base money was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments. As brass and copper grew scarce, it was made of still viler materials, of tin and pewter. It was obtruded on the protestants with many circumstances of insolence and cruelty. Old debts of one thousand pounds were discharged with old pieces of vile metal, amounting to thirty shillings in intrinsic value. Attempts were made to purchase gold and silver at immoderate rates with the brass money: but this was strictly forbidden on pain of death; and when protestants attempted to exonerate themselves of these heaps of coin by purchasing the staple commodities of the kingdom,

James

James by proclamation set a rate on these commodities, demanding them at this rate, returning his brass on the proprietors, and with all the meanness of a trader exported them to France. It appeared indeed in the end, that James was the only gainer by this iniquitous project, and that in the final course of circulation his own party became possessed of the greatest part of this adulterated coin, just at the time when William had power to suppress it.

William arrived at Carrickfergus attended by prince George of Denmark, the young duke of Ormond, and others. His military genius prompted him, and the distracted state of England, together with the formidable preparations of France, obliged him, to a vigorous prosecution of the war; and when some cautious councils were suggested by his officers, he rejected them with indignation. "I came not to Ireland," said he, "to let grass grow under my feet."

Six days had elapsed from the time of William's landing, when James received the first intelligence that a prince, who he confidently believed must be detained in England by faction and discontent, was already on his march to meet him. To particularise the events of this civil war, would far exceed our proposed limits: the battle of the Boyne, which was fought on the 1st of July 1690, turned the scale of the kingdom: there William, although he commanded a considerable superiority of forces, attended to the duties of a vigilant, steady, and intrepid general: he shared the danger of his army, encouraging it by his presence and example, even after he had been wounded, and had been pressed by his officers to retire; whilst James stood at a secure distance a

A. D. 1690.

quiet

quiet spectator of the contest for his crown; so fearful of his enemy, or so diffident of himself or his troops, that his chief concern and preparation before the battle were to secure his personal retreat. He fled with precipitancy to Dublin, and from thence to Waterford, where a frigate was ready to convey him back to France; leaving the beaten relics of his army to make the best stand against the enemy, and procure from him the best terms their personal bravery would entitle them to. The Irish army under Tyrconnel and Sarsfield made a very vigorous resistance against a superior well disciplined army acting under the first general in Europe, until they surrendered the town of Limerick, which was their last hold, on the third of October 1691, upon articles which sufficiently proved the estimation in which king William held their valour and steadiness, even after the many advantages which he had gained over them. Thus terminated the final effort of the old Irish inhabitants for the recovery of their antient power, and the slender relics of Irish possessions now became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in 1698, it appears that the Irish subjects outlawed for the rebellion of 1688 amounted to three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight, and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual value of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds; comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of parliament to defray the expenses incurred by England in reducing the rebels in 1688; and the sale introduced into Ireland a new

set of adventurers. It is a very curious and important speculation to look to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in one century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven million forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. In the reign of James I. the whole of the province of Ulster was confiscated, containing . . . . 2,836,837 acres.

Set out by the court of claims at the restoration	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688.	1,060,792
Total	11,697,629

Thus it appears that the whole island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII. but recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or even thrice, in the course of a century. The situation of Ireland, therefore, at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world *.

* Speech of earl Clare.

CHAP. IX.

Reign of William and Mary.

THE progress of the reformation at the commencement of this reign was more rapidly extending among the higher orders of the Irish than it had formerly. And the English who were now domiciliated in Ireland, were from plantations, forfeitures, and other causes, surprisingly multiplied. These two descriptions of persons now began to consider themselves as an independent Irish interest; and although the revolution did not let in the Irish nation immediately to those civil rights and liberties which it imparted or secured to England, yet it kindled in those who approved of it a spirit of freedom, which disposed them to insist upon the constitutional rights of Irishmen.

Lord Sydney, having been created lord lieutenant, immediately summoned a parliament; the primary object of which was to raise supplies to discharge the debts contracted during the war. There had been no parliament in Ireland, except that which sat under James, for the last twenty-six years; and although the parliament of England had legislated for Ireland on the most important matters of state, and had excluded the Roman catholics from a seat in either house of the Irish parliament, yet had it not proceeded to the extent of raising money directly upon the people of Ireland.

This parliament, considering the assumption of the parliament of England as an encroachment upon their rights, rejected one of two money bills which had not originated with them, but had been

sent from England, and only consented to pass the other from the extreme urgency of the case. This conduct was deemed by Sydney to be seditious, and he prorogued the parliament with a severe reprimand. The commons requested permission to send commissioners to England to lay a full and impartial statement of their grievances before their majesties; when they were tauntingly assured by the lord lieutenant that they might *go to England to beg pardon of their majesties for their seditious and riotous assemblies*. This ungracious conduct rendered Sydney unpopular, and it was thought prudent to recall him.

Upon the removal of lord Sydney, the government was vested in three justices, lord Capel, sir Cecil Wyche, and Mr. Duncombe; who differing in their sentiments, the power of the whole was concentred in lord Capel.

The remainder of this reign was passed without any event worthy of particular record. The difference of religious sentiments continued unhappily to spread the seeds of disunion between a large proportion of the people of Ireland and their sovereigns; and the want of a cordial and sincere co-operation of the parliaments of England and Ireland tended in a very great degree to retard the progress of those blessings, which in the sister kingdom the revolution had bestowed upon more fortunate England.

The unexpected death of the duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Ann, in his seventeenth year, and the death of the late king James about the same time, gave rise to the act by which the crown was settled on the house of Hanover, which was the last act passed in this reign.

A. D. 1701.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Reign of Queen Anne.

IN the meridian heat of whiggism and toryism nothing was done in moderation, and few of the transactions of that day have reached us in a form unwarped by the prejudices of the narrators. Through every part of the British empire, except Ireland, the constitutional rights of the subject ebbed and flowed with the alternate prevalence of these opposite parties. The Irish nation was doomed to suffer under every Stuart; and the ingratitude of this monarch to them may have contributed not slightly to prevent them from relapsing into their former attachment, when other parts of the British empire rose in rebellion in their support. It is worthy of peculiar remark, as showing the folly of coupling the cause of popery with that of the pretender, that in the only part of the British empire, which generally submitted to the spiritual power of the pope, namely Ireland, an arm has not been raised in aid of the Stuarts since the accession of the house of Hanover to the British throne.

Anne was alternately led down the stream either by whigs or tories, as their respective parties gained the ascendancy in parliament: the whole political system of her reign was a state of contest, in which the party in power opposed and thwarted their antagonists by measures of extreme violence. This nearly equal contest of the rival parties in England kept not the same equilibrium in Ireland.

land. The queen, who held her crown against the claims of her brother by the tenure of protestantism, found herself forced to bury the attachments of natural affection under her zeal for the church, and became forward, in yielding to the cries of both parties, in laying the severest restrictions upon her catholic subjects of Ireland. No crimes, no new offences were laid to their charge, and yet a new code of unparalleled rigour was imposed on this suffering people.

No period of the Irish history more strongly illustrates the advantages of an incorporate union between Great Britain and Ireland, than the reign of queen Anne: it verifies to the letter the trite observation, that if no other benefit were to arise out of it than the destruction of the Irish parliament and the Irish monopoly of power, it will be the greatest national blessing bestowed upon Ireland since the invasion. For it is now ascertained that the penal laws passed against the catholics during her reign, were passed against the wishes and efforts of the British cabinet by the procurement of the head of the Irish aristocracy, and the unanimous vote of an Irish parliament.

During the whole of the reign of queen Anne, the penal laws were executed with unabating severity upon the Irish catholics, without other visible cause than their mere profession of the Roman catholic religion. There is a principle of liberality and wisdom in concentrating the interests of a great people in a common focus, which has produced the late happy union, which is the loudest condemnation of the false policy that pervaded the Irish government in the reign of queen Anne. It was during the same reign that the parliament of England directed the sale of the estates of Irish rebels,

rebels, and disqualified the catholics from purchasing them; avoided leases made to papists, augmented small vicarages, and confirmed grants made to the archbishop of Dublin: the same parliament also permitted Ireland to export linen, (which by this time had become a most important branch of their commerce) to the colonies; prohibited the importation of that commodity from Scotland; and appointed the town of New Ross in the county of Wexford, as the port for exporting wool from Ireland to England.

Little else occurred during this reign, with respect to Ireland, which is worthy of record. The queen died on the 1st of August 1714, and was succeeded by George I., who was proclaimed and acknowledged king of Great Britain and Ireland without opposition.

The parliament of Ireland convened in November 1715 was prominently conspicuous in manifesting their zeal for the Hanover succession, and the whig administration; which, upon the death of Anne, obtained the whole management of public affairs, to the exclusion of the whole tory party. This parliament passed acts for recognising the king's title, for the security of his person and government, for setting a price of 50,000l. upon the head of the pretender, and for attainting the duke of Ormond, who had taken up arms in his cause.

The court of Spain having resolved to fit out an expedition in favour of the pretender, this period was fixed upon as the moment for putting it into execution. An armament of twelve ships of the line and several transports was equipped, having on board six thousand regular troops, and arms for twelve thousand men. The command of the fleet was given to the duke of Ormond,

A. D. 1715.

mond, with the title of Captain General of his Catholic Majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of the Spanish monarch, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to king James. The duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and had proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, when the fleet was overtaken and dispersed by a storm, which entirely defeated the intended expedition. It is honourable to the loyalty of the Irish, that notwithstanding the tenantry on the Ormond property at this time was the most numerous in Ireland, and that the bulk of the nation was of the same religion as the pretender; notwithstanding Ireland lay more contiguous to Spain than Great Britain, and was less provided for defence against invasion; yet so sternly loyal were the people of Ireland to the illustrious family on the throne, that not even the intriguing Alberoni, the Spanish monarch, the catholic pretender, or his enthusiastic and desperate supporter Ormond, dared even to attempt to seduce them from their allegiance.

Removed as we now fortunately are out of that vortex of bigotry and fanaticism which had the peculiar quality of rendering those who moved in it insensible of their own infection, it is painful for us to look back on times when a difference in religious opinions created such jealousies on one hand, and such provocations on the other, whilst there appears to have existed but one common sentiment upon all matters of civil duty and allegiance. And yet, if we abstract from this period of the history of Ireland the detail of these religious differences and their effects, we shall discover nothing of sufficient interest to attract our attention. It is to be lamented

mented that existing circumstances should so far have beguiled or misled the government of England to associate and couple together, with too much indiscriminate zeal for the protestant interest, the epithets of catholic and rebel, or Jacobite; since under the specious names of catholic or protestant ascendancy it is not to be doubted that other interests than those of the church or of the crown of England have been placed in combat with other interests than those of the pope or the pretender;---and that the corrupt purposes of party, while they prevented the people of Ireland from enjoying all the blessings of a British government, procured for that government nothing but perplexity, disappointment, and unpopularity.

It would be foreign to the intention of this work, as well as beyond its limits, to enter even upon a sketch of the different administrations which governed Ireland during the remainder of the reign of George I. or that of his successor. During this period of time no event of sufficient importance to the general reader took place, if we except the landing of the French at Carrickfergus at the latter end of the reign of George II.

A. D. 1759.

The court of Versailles has at no time been backward in availing itself of opportunities to strike at the greatness of the British empire. Among other means which that perfidious, restless, and ambitious court had used for the vain attempt of this mad purpose, the separation of Ireland from the rest of the British dominions has been frequently resorted to. About this time this object formed part of the plan of the French cabinet, as a diversion of the measures of England abroad, in prosecuting a war which had hitherto opened in all parts of the world so unfavourable a prospect

prospect to the views of French ambition. The grand embarkation designed for Ireland was to be made from Vannes in Lower Britany; and a fleet was fitted out at Brest, commanded by M. de Conflans, to cover the expedition. The execution of this scheme was delayed by sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up that harbour with twenty-three ships of the line. But boisterous winds having driven the British fleet off their station in the month of November, Conflans embraced the opportunity, and sailed with twenty-one large ships and four frigates. On the twentieth sir Edward Hawke pursued and came up with the French fleet, and obtained a complete victory over it. The squadron designed for the north of Ireland had sailed from Dunkirk, under the command of Thurot, in October; it consisted originally of five ships, and carried one thousand two hundred and seventy land forces. Adverse and tempestuous winds drove the squadron to Gottenburgh. Having continued there a few days, they set sail, and proceeded to the place of destination. When arriving on the coast of Ireland, they were overtaken by a storm, to escape which, they attempted to shelter themselves in Lough Foyle; but the wind changed, and continuing to blow tempestuously, obliged them to keep the sea: two of the ships were separated from the rest by the violence of the storm, and returned to France. The remaining three directed their course to the island of Ilay, where they repaired their damage, took in a small quantity of provision, and, to procure a supply more adequate to their necessities, sailed for Carrickfergus. They arrived here on the 21st of February 1760, and about two miles from the town landed their forces, now reduced to six hundred men. The garrison

of

of Carrickfergus, consisting of a small number, made a most valiant resistance; and though not in any respect prepared for such an attack, numbers of them being quite undisciplined, and there being a breach in the wall fifty feet long, they defended themselves with spirit until their ammunition was expended. They were now obliged to capitulate: it is supposed that previous to the surrender of the castle one hundred of the French were killed, among whom were officers, one of them of considerable distinction. Of the garrison, not more than three lost their lives. When intelligence of the landing of the enemy reached different parts of the country, volunteer companies flocked to Belfast from all quarters. Intimidated by the valour and loyalty of the Irish, the French retreated, and, having plundered the town, reimbarked on the 26th of February. They were encountered on their return by captain Elliot and a small squadron under his command, who engaged them for about an hour and a half; when they struck to the British flag, having three hundred of their men killed, among whom was their commander Thurot.

This event was the last of any importance to Ireland during the reign of George II., who died on the 25th of October 1760.

CHAP. XI.

Reign of George III.

AMONG the many benevolent and illustrious acts which posterity will admire when contemplating the eventful reign of the gracious monarch who now fills the imperial throne of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the amelioration of the state of his Irish subjects will hold a noble and a prominent rank.

At the period of his accession to the crown the aspect of Irish affairs was truly gloomy. Public credit in Ireland had almost fallen prostrate. In the southern province of that kingdom the greatest misery existed among the peasantry, and multitudes of the lowest and most wretched of that class were in a state of insurrection. The insurgents at first committed their outrages at night, and appearing generally in shirts or frocks were denominated *white-boys*. These insurrections became alarming to government; and they instituted a commission of some gentlemen of distinguished loyalty and eminence in the law to inquire upon the spot into the real causes and circumstances of these riots; who reported that the authors of them consisted of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government appeared in any of these people, whose discontents and outrageous conduct too evidently originated in their distress, arising from a combination of causes, a principal one being the great scarcity and dearness

ness of provisions. The public mind was much agitated by these proceedings, and some persons even construed these riots into a plot for the subversion of the government and the protestant religion.

The excesses which were committed for a series of years by the lower classes of the Irish under the denomination of white boys, and oak boys, or hearts of steel boys, have been variously accounted for by writers of different parties; but as our proposed limits forbid us from entering into too minute a detail of the transactions of modern times, we shall confine ourselves in the sequel of this history to the three most important events of the present reign relative to Ireland, namely, the declaration of the legislative independence of that kingdom, the rebellion of 1798, and the union of Ireland with Great Britain.

A. D. 1782.

Respecting the first of these events, the legislative independence of Ireland, a violent contest had been long maintained. The measure of conciliation was at length adopted by England during the administration of earl Shelburne (now marquis of Lansdown), who on the 17th of May 1782 brought forward this subject in the British house of peers, in a most liberal, instructive and constitutional speech, in which he displayed the powers of the accomplished orator and profound statesman. "Ireland," his lordship observed, "by the papers on the table had demanded four things; the first, and most essential to them, was a free constitution, which they could not be said to enjoy while they were subject to laws not made with their own consent. He therefore moved a repeal of the act of the 6th of George the first, for the better securing the dependence of Ireland on

on the crown of Great Britain; which repeal would give quiet and satisfaction to the minds of the Irish, and leave no cause to check the affection and zeal for England, whose cause they had declared themselves willing to share. The condition of the Irish parliament," his lordship continued, "was singularly clogged by antient statutes framed for the times, and which, though softened by practice, were still a great check to their freedom." He alluded to Poyning's law, of the unreasonableness of which he spoke very fully. The perpetuity of the mutiny act was another subject of complaint, in which he thought, as it was a matter of internal regulation, it was just to comply with the desire of Ireland, that there should be no distinction between that country and Great Britain. He concluded with expressing his strong reliance on the affection and gratitude which such fair and liberal concessions would excite, and strenuously urged the necessity of union at that moment with our sister kingdom, that she might be made to feel in the language of our holy prayers, *that our service is perfect freedom.* He concluded with moving two resolutions:

"First, That it is the opinion of this house, that the act of the sixth of George the first, entitled *An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain,* ought to be repealed.

"Second, That it is the opinion of this house, that it is indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms, that the connexion between them should be established, by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent footing, and that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, that his majesty would be graciously pleased

to

to take such measures as his majesty in his royal wisdom should think most conducive to that important end." These motions were carried, with the single dissenting voice of lord Loughborough, now earl of Rosslyn.

On the same day the same resolutions were unanimously carried in the house of commons, upon the motion of Mr. secretary Fox; who, in a speech of uncommon eloquence and perspicuity, went over the same grounds with lord Shelburne. By these acts of the British parliament, sanctioned by his majesty, was the independence of Ireland in legislating for herself fully and finally established, to the universal joy of the whole kingdom.

A. D. 1788.

At that awful period of the history of the British empire, when the best of sovereigns was visited with so severe a malady as to render it indispensably necessary that a regent should be appointed for the exercise of the royal prerogative and authority, the parliament of Ireland with unexampled unanimity invited his royal highness the prince of Wales to accept of the regency, without any of those conditions and limitations which in England had been deemed necessary by a majority of the British parliament. To the unspeakable joy and happiness of his subjects at large, the convalescence of his majesty was declared at the very period of the arrival of the commissioners from the Irish parliament with their address to the prince of Wales. In Ireland, no less than in every other part of the empire, public demonstrations of gratitude to heaven were expressed by all ranks of all religions, and their general joy was testified by public entertainments given on the happy occasion.

A. D. 1791. To trace the origin or mark the progress of the late unhappy rebellion which overflowed Ireland with brothers' blood, is far beyond the limits of our design. It is sufficient for our purpose to record some prominent facts relative to that disgraceful period of Irish history. In the month of June 1791 a paper was circulated in Dublin containing the design of an association to be called the Society of United Irishmen at Belfast; and a complete plan or prospectus of the society was published in the Northern Star in October following; and in the same month the Roman catholics published a declaration of their tenets and pretensions, and circulated them through the kingdom, in order to remove prejudices, and spirit up the exertions of their friends in their cause. In the ensuing month of November a similar society of united Irishmen was established at Dublin; their declaration was the same as that at Belfast; but a test was annexed to it. To this society Mr. James Napper Tandy was secretary, and Mr. Simon Butler was chairman. It is, however, proper to remark, that these first societies of united Irishmen differed materially from those which afterwards entered into the rebellion. In these societies there was nothing ambiguous, or secret, or inconsistent with the duty of a loyal subject. On the 30th of December in the same year the united Irishmen of Dublin held a special session, at which they approved of a circular letter to encourage similar societies; and to this letter or address they annexed a declaration of their political sentiments, and the test which they had taken as a social and sacred compact to bind them more closely together. A general disposition to republicanism now began to appear in these publications, and they

became

became objects of the notice of government. The year 1792 opened scenes peculiarly important to the fate of Ireland. A great political change had been produced in the public mind by the writings of Paine and of Burke; between the two extremes of whose doctrines no middle part was tenable during the first fervour of the French revolution.

The question of catholic emancipation was blended and confused with the absurd jargon of jacobinism; and notwithstanding the extensive and important privileges granted and restored to the catholics of Ireland by the most indulgent monarch that had ever reigned over the island, still did the restless spirit of insurrection incite this unhappy people to acts of madness and folly. Several circumstances occurred in the course of this year which tended to affix, with great show of justice, a stigma beyond disaffection to some of the political societies and military corps. The national guard, a new raised body, was this year arrayed and disciplined in Dublin. They wore green uniforms, with buttons engraved with a harp under a cap of liberty instead of a crown. Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy; they addressed each other by the affected appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French rebels. This corps was in high favour with the populace, and serious apprehensions were entertained by government of a general insurrection. Regular summonses, beginning in the French style, "Citizen soldiers," were published to the national guards and all the volunteer corps of Dublin, to assemble on Sunday the 9th of December to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of universal liberty. Government wisely prevented this meeting, and the threatened mischief was for a

 time

time suspended. But the agents of sedition were by no means inactive, and the government found it expedient to check their operations by prosecuting Mr. A. H. Rowan for publishing a seditious libel in the form of an address from the united Irishmen at Dublin to the volunteers of Ireland; of which he was found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be imprisoned two years, and to find security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in two thousand pounds, and two sureties in one thousand each.

A. D. 1794.

Whatever were the various and immediate causes of the growth and extension of that seditious and rebellious spirit which now agitated the kingdom, certain it is, that defenderism spread rapidly, and the united Irishmen assumed the tone and attitude of rebellion. Rowan, who after his commitment had been charged with high treason, contrived to escape from Newgate about the same time that the Rev. Mr. Jackson, a protestant clergyman, was committed thither on the same charge.

A. D. 1795.

The viceroyalty of earl Fitzwilliam forms too important a period in the modern history of this country to be passed over without notice. That nobleman was appointed to his high station upon principles and with conditions which he himself has publicly stated to have embraced, among other objects of amelioration or concession to the Irish, the most important measure of catholic emancipation. No sooner did his lordship land, than he immediately set about the grand business which, as he conceived, he had been especially deputed to undertake. We attempt not to discuss within the narrow compass of these pages, a measure so pregnant with important consequences as the

the total emancipation of the catholics of Ireland; but it is certainly to be for ever regretted that any misconception of the councils of the British cabinet, or any dereliction of those councils, if not misunderstood, should have raised the expectations of the catholic interest to such an exulting height, only to mock them with the disgrace of disappointment.

Whether the origin of this error lie with one party or with the other, the fatal effects of it are the same. Earl Fitzwilliam was recalled. No sooner was the report of his intended removal credited, than an almost universal despondency, in some instances amounting to desperation, seized the whole nation. On the 25th of March his lordship took his departure from Ireland, when the resentment, grief, and indignation of the nation were most strongly marked. It was a day of general gloom; the shops were shut; no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His lordship was succeeded in the viceroyalty by lord Camden.

From this period the various societies and associations throughout Ireland began their more active operations against the government, and their treasonable machinations were the more dangerous on account of their secrecy. At length the smothered flame of rebellion burst forth, and produced such horrors as have rarely fallen to the painful lot of the historian to narrate. The execrable designs of the fomenters of this unnatural warfare could no longer be concealed, as their direct communication with the enemy had been detected, and the aid of the French in their designs of overthrowing the

government

government and constitution of Ireland had been actually promised. The societies of rebels now assumed a military form; and it appears from their original papers seized at Belfast in the month of April, that their number in the province of Ulster at that period amounted to nearly one hundred thousand men; that they were largely supplied with fire-arms and pikes; that they had some cannon and ammunition, and were diligently employed in the study of military tactics; in short, that nothing was neglected by these people, or their leaders, that could enable them to take the field on the arrival of the enemy, or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their superior officers, whom they were bound by oath to obey. An armament designed for the invasion of Ireland had been preparing at Brest during the whole summer. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, including the seven that composed the squadron of admiral Richery, who was to join it with all speed, fifteen frigates, besides sloops, and transports for an army of twenty-five thousand men to be commanded by general Hoche. Through several unforeseen accidents this armament was not ready for sailing till the 18th of December, and on getting out of Brest some of the largest ships struck upon the rock at the mouth of the harbour; several were lost, and others rendered unfit for service. The day after its departure a violent storm arose, and continued during the whole time of the expedition. On the 24th admiral Bouvet, commander in chief of the French fleet, anchored in Bantry Bay with seven ships of the line and ten others. After lying some days in this bay the storminess of the weather increased; and receiving no intelligence of general

general Hoche and his staff who were in a frigate that parted from the fleet in a gale of wind, the French admiral determined to return to France, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the land officers on board his fleet, who were desirous of landing, and he arrived safe in Brest on the last day of December. The other divisions of his fleet had also the good fortune to reach that harbour, with the loss however of five ships; three of which foundered, one was taken by the English, and the other ran ashore to avoid the same fate. Thus terminated an expedition unquestionably formidable in its aspects, and to the failure of which the providential intervention of the elements in our favour so greatly contributed; for though the utmost exertions, seconded by the loyalty of a great majority of the Irish, were made upon the arrival of the enemy in their ports, yet it does not appear that due attention had been paid to the necessary means of defence against such an attempts as but for the elements would at this period have been made on Ireland.

In the spring of 1797 the rebel directory dispatched one of their agents to Paris, to press the acceleration of French assistance; and in the summer of the same year, apprehensive of a premature insurrection in the north, they thought it necessary to send a second agent, to urge with increased earnestness that succour should be immediately sent. Upon the breaking off the negotiation for peace then carrying on at Lisle, the French directory assured the Irish agents at Paris of immediate succour; and accordingly during the summer extensive preparations were made at Brest and at the Texel for the invasion of Ireland; and in the autumn intelligence was received by the rebel directory

rectory that the troops were actually embarked at the Texel. In consequence great exertions were made by the rebels; and in the beginning of October, when the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, the approach of the French was announced to the societies as at hand. The troops had been actually on board, commanded by general Daendalles, but were suddenly disembarked. The Dutch fleet put to sea; which led to the ever memorable victory of the 11th of October gained by the gallant lord Duncan.

A. D. 1798. On May the 22d lord Castlereagh presented a message to the house of commons, that his excellency had "received information that the disaffected had been daring enough to form a plan for the purpose of possessing themselves in the course of that week of the metropolis, of seizing the seat of government, and those in authority within the city; that in consequence of that information he had directed every military precaution to be taken which seemed expedient; that he had given full instructions to the magistrates for the direction of their efforts; and that he had not a doubt, by the measures which would be pursued, the designs of the rebellious would be effectually and entirely crushed."

From this period the rebellion spread itself in all directions, and a succession of horrors ensued, over which we are desirous, for the credit of human nature, that a veil of oblivion may be for ever spread. It was happy for the British empire, that during this alarming crisis the French government was in the hands of feeble politicians; who, though well acquainted with the state of Ireland, had unaccountably neglected to embrace the opportunity of pursuing the plan laid out for them by

by lord Edward Fitzgerald and others of the rebels; which was, to risk some frigates and light vessels with a proper supply of officers, arms, and ammunition, with some few troops to keep up the spirit of the deluded insurgents. With that lazy afterthought which marks the folly of a bad statesman, the French in the latter end of August detached a small force to the north of Ireland under the command of general Humbert, who on the 22d landed at Killala. The French entered the bay under English colours, and the feint succeeded so well, that two sons of the bishop of Killala threw themselves into a fishing-boat with another gentleman, and were soon surprised at finding themselves prisoners. The indentings of the bay of Killala and the chain of hills between that spot where the enemy landed, will in part account for the secrecy with which the debarkation was conducted. Between seven and eight on that evening, a terrified messenger announced to the bishop that the French were landed, and that near three hundred of them were within a mile of the town. Intelligence was instantly sent off to Ballina, and the yeomanry and fencibles drew up before the castle gates, and resolutely proceeded towards the main street to meet the French advanced guard. Borne down by numbers they were compelled to yield; opposition would have been worse than fruitless; and the French general marched into the castle yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to see the bishop, who fortunately was conversant with the French language. Humbert desired him to be under no apprehension, and assured him that nothing should be taken but what was absolutely necessary for their support. A green flag was mounted over the castle gate with the inscription,

"Erin

"Erin go Brah!" Humbert left Killala with a quantity of ammunition in the possession of two hundred men and six officers, and on the 25th about seven in the evening took possession of Ballina, from whence the garrison fled on his approach.. The French general was sensible of the advantage of pushing forward with vigour, and that a rapid progress into the interior could alone bring the rebels to his standard. At Ballina he was joined by many hundreds, who received arms and uniforms. Humbert, determined to attack the forces at Castlebar, began his march on the morning of the 26th, with eight hundred of his own men and less than fifteen hundred of the rebels, and at seven o'clock was within two miles of the town, before which our army had taken their position on a rising ground to receive them. From some cause or other the king's forces fell into disorder, and retreated to Tuam, about forty miles from the scene of action. The marquis Cornwallis, who had succeeded lord Camden as viceroy, had, notwithstanding the small numbers of the invaders, been so sensible of the danger of kindling the smothered flame of rebellion, as to determine to march in person against the enemy. He proceeded on the 30th of August on the road to Castlebar, and arrived on the 4th of September at Hollymount, fourteen miles distant from that place. In the evening of that day, he received intelligence that the enemy had abandoned that post, and had marched to Foxford, and were now joined by multitudes of the Irish peasantry. The advanced guard of the French having arrived at Coloony was opposed on the 5th by colonel Vereker of the city of Limerick artillery, who had marched from Sligo for that purpose with about two hundred infantry, thirty of the

the 24th regiment of light dragoons, and two curricle guns. The colonel found the enemy arrayed for his reception between him and the town of Coloony. After a smart action of about an hour's continuance, he was obliged to retreat with the loss of his artillery to Sligo, from whence he withdrew his little army to Ballyshannon. The conduct of colonel Vereker on this occasion was worthy of his ability, courage, and spirit; and this opposition, though attended by defeat, is supposed to have caused the French general to relinquish his design upon Sligo. The French army arrived at Ballinamuck on the 8th of September, closely followed by the troops of colonel Crawford and general Lake; while lord Cornwallis with the grand army marched by Mohill to Saint-John's-town in the county of Longford, in order to intercept the enemy in front, in his way to Granard; or, should he proceed, to surround him with an army of thirty thousand men. In this desperate situation, Humbert arranged his forces with no other object, as it must be presumed, than to maintain the honour of the French arms; and on the appearance of the main body of general Lake's army they surrendered. The rebel auxiliaries who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with the slaughter of about five hundred men. Notwithstanding the diminution by desertions on the march, about one thousand five hundred rebels were with the French army at Ballinamuck at the time of the surrender of Humbert.

On the 22d of September, thirty-two days after the landing of the French army, and fifteen after its capture at Ballinamuck, a large body of troops arrived at Killala under the command of major-general Trench.

Trench. The town of Killala, thus recovered by his majesty's forces, had been thirty-two days in the possession of the French and the rebels. The contrast between the rebels who joined this troop of invaders, and the invaders themselves, with regard to religious sentiments was extremely curious. The atheist despised and affronted the bigot. "But," says the bishop of Killala in his Narrative, "the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men who boasted openly in our hearing that they had just driven monsieur Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland! It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their services, declare that they were come to take arms for France and the blessed Virgin." The conduct of the priests who engaged in the same treasonable enterprise was yet more surprising than that of their people. No set of men could be treated with more apparent dislike, and even contempt, than these were by the French. The commandant would not trust to their interpretation; but, if he wanted to know the truth, waited till he could see the bishop.

With the conquest of this contemptible army of invaders, and their retreat from Ireland, ended the rebellion of 1798. Unhappy Ireland! what must be the feelings of those who could sow those dreadful dissensions in thy bosom, when they read that according to the most probable accounts to be had from the War-office, the number of the army lost in this wicked rebellion amounts in the whole to nineteen thousand seven hundred men; and that, according to the general government accounts of the total loss of the rebels, it exceeded fifty thousand!

Our remaining task is of a more pleasing nature. From the black clouds of rebellion we turn with

satisfaction

satisfaction to that event which has made all the interests, and all the struggles, and the blessings of England, Scotland, and Ireland, one. The benefits of a political union of Ireland with Great Britain have been so admirably well depicted by the bishop of Llandaff, that we cannot better describe them than in the words of the learned prelate in a debate in the house of lords on this important topic. "It would," his lordship observed, "enrich Ireland, and would not impoverish Great Britain. The consolidation of Ireland with this country would render it the strongest empire in Europe.

"Ireland," he further observed, "as a shoot from the stem of Great Britain had brought forth fruit: but that as a separate plant, it would neither strike its root downwards, nor spread its branches above: it would bear no fruit for at least a hundred years. It must either be shaded by the British oak, or it must be poisoned by the pestilential vapor of the tree of French liberty. Ireland could not stand alone. In the present state of Europe, she must be united either to England or to France. English capital would, in the event of union, seek employment in Ireland, and diffuse improvement and wealth. The bogs would be converted into fruitful fields, the barren mountains covered with cattle; the old sources of wealth would be extended, new ones discovered, and the inhabitants be rendered rich, industrious, and happy."

Coinciding, as we sincerely do, with this most eloquent elucidation of the advantages of the union, it is with pleasure we add to this just picture of the right reverend prelate the sanction of a nobleman to the union, whose opinion on all subjects is of infinite weight, but upon the concerns of Ireland is, perhaps, preponderant to any in the British dominions, on account of his extensive and intimate

mate knowledge of that part of the empire, as well as the sound wisdom and unimpeachable integrity which are his characteristics. The earl of Moira declared that his early objections to the union were in a great measure removed by the late determination of the Irish parliament; *and he was ready to admit, that the points of detail were founded, for the most part, on just and equitable principles.*

With such an exalted testimony of the justice of the execution of this great national measure, and with such a just display of its general advantages, we conclude this history of Ireland. In reviewing the annals of this brave and generous people, if we have erred, it has not been from motives of partiality to any party or to any sect. It is indeed to be lamented, that the sacred cause of religion should be ever alluded to for any other purpose than the furtherance of piety and virtue; for the dissemination among men of those duties which they owe to their Creator and their fellow-creatures. May the happy event of a political union between Great Britain and Ireland, which commenced with the nineteenth century, continue for countless centuries, unbroken by faction or disloyalty, a noble monument to the world at large of the blessings resulting from a true and loyal union of civilized brethren, enjoying the benefits of rational freedom on the basis of a constitution, which wisdom and virtue have consolidated, and which genuine patriotism defends!

END OF VOL. XXI.

OR VOL. XII. OF THE MODERN PART.

J. Taylor, Printer, Black-Horse-Court, Fleet-street.